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# National Woman's Party

*(Incorporated 1918)*

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## OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, support it irrespective of the interests of any political party.
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# SUFFRAGIST

Official Organ of the National Woman's Party

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## THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

*Resolved,* by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

"ARTICLE—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

## METHOD OF AMENDING THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES
ARTICLE V.

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the First Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

# An Editorial

THE ratification of the Susan B. Anthony amendment completes the political democracy of America and enfranchises half the people of a great nation.

It is a victory for human liberty which has been won not by any individual or group of women but by all those who since the time of the Revolution have protested against the humiliation of disfranchisement, and proclaimed the equality of men and women.

Throughout the United States women are now entitled to vote in the coming elections on the same basis as men. Our work, however, cannot yet end. Ratification must be protected in the courts against the attacks of its opponents.

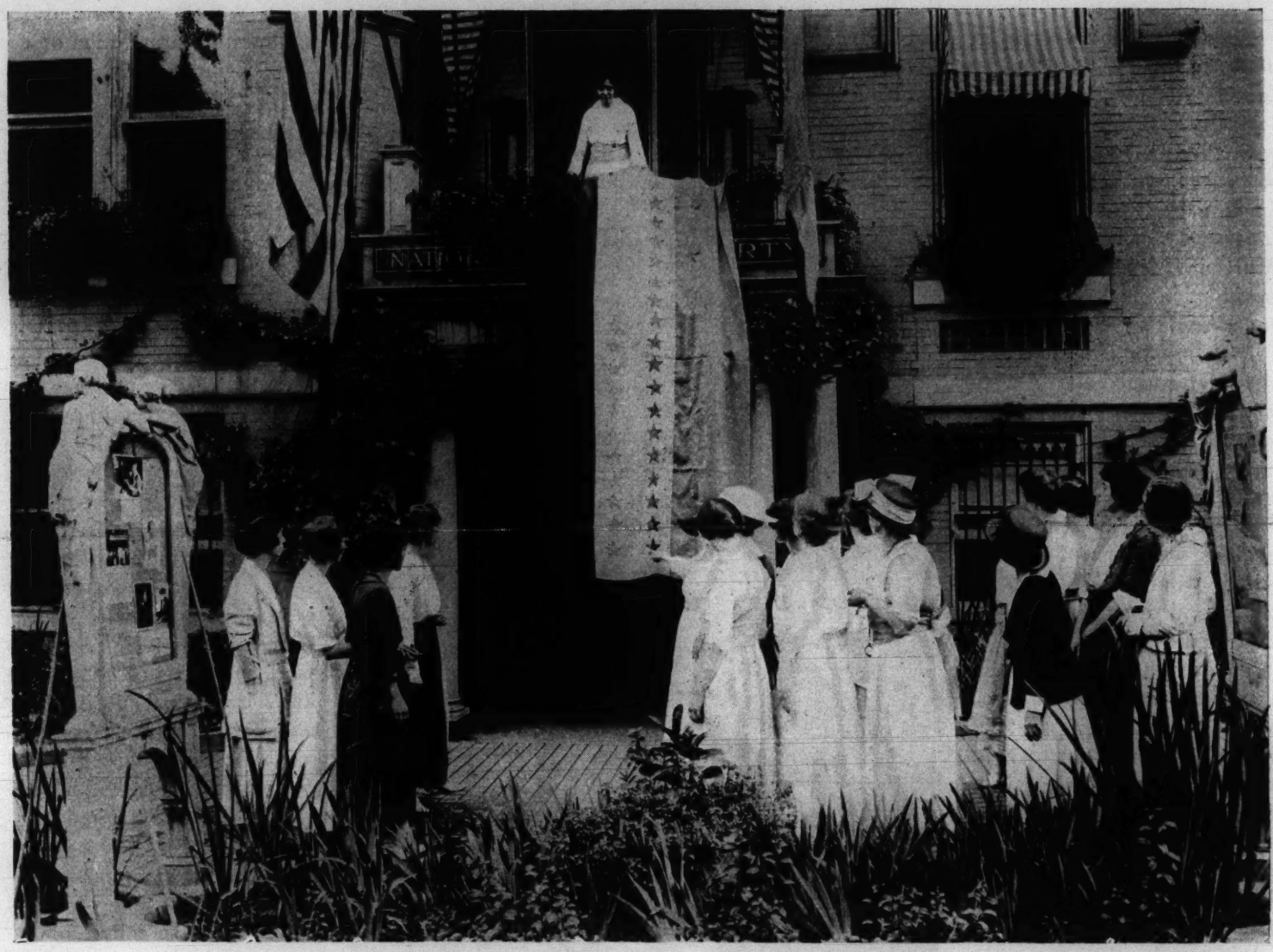
In certain states provision must also be made for admitting women to the polls and for their registration in accordance with the law.

With their power to vote finally assured, women will still have before them the task of supplementing political equality with equality in other fields. The ballot is the symbol of a new status in human society, it is the greatest possible single step forward in the progress of women, but it does not in itself complete their freedom.

In state and national legislation, in industry and in the professions, they are not yet on an equal basis with men. The vote will make it comparatively easy for them to do away with discriminations if it is used to this end.

The question is whether women can best exercise their new power as individuals working through existing organizations, or as a united group. Upon the answer to this question depends the future of the National Woman's Party. Organized in 1913 to secure the passage of the federal suffrage amendment, it has accomplished the purpose for which it was founded. It will meet in national convention within the next few months and it will then determine whether to disband or to adopt a future program of work for the further advancement and freedom of women.

Drawn for the Suffragist by Nina E. Allender



**Upon the word that Tennessee had ratified, Alice Paul unfurled the Woman's Party ratification banner with its thirty-six victory stars, and from the balcony of the headquarters it proclaims the triumph of the cause for which the Woman's Party was founded—the national enfranchisement of the women of America.**

# Votes for Women!

AMERICAN political democracy, assured to white men by the Revolution, extended to black men by the Civil War, has been completed by the victory of women in their century-long struggle for enfranchisement.

Only a few women here and there in the United States who saw the beginning of the organized work for woman suffrage have lived to see its triumph. But the early leaders in whose determined ideals of justice the struggle was born, share in this final victory through their certainty that victory would come. Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote before the Civil War, when the woman's rights movement was sure of nothing but of universal ridicule, "Can one man in his brief hour hope to see the beginning and end of any reform? As to the cause of women, I see no signs of failure!" And Susan B. Anthony prophesied fifty years ago that women would vote in 1920.

From the beginning of colonization in this country there were women who asserted the rights of their sex and demanded recognition. In a few of the Colonies they maintained rights which as property holders they had enjoyed in England and voted and spoke in town councils, though to secure respect for their sentiments, the wisest began their speeches, "My husband thinks—" But when the Federal Constitution was adopted, exactly as had happened in France at the time of the Revolution, while many new rights were assured to the men, women were deprived of the few they had previously enjoyed, and were left without power in the government or adequate protection under the law.

It was not because of the indifference of all women that they were thus excluded from the benefits of the government they had helped to found. Abigail Adams, the first "militant" in the woman's movement in America, sent word to her husband, John Adams, in the Continental Congress:

> "In the new code of laws, I desire you would remember the ladies. If particular care and attention are not paid to them, we are determined to foment a rebellion and will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation."

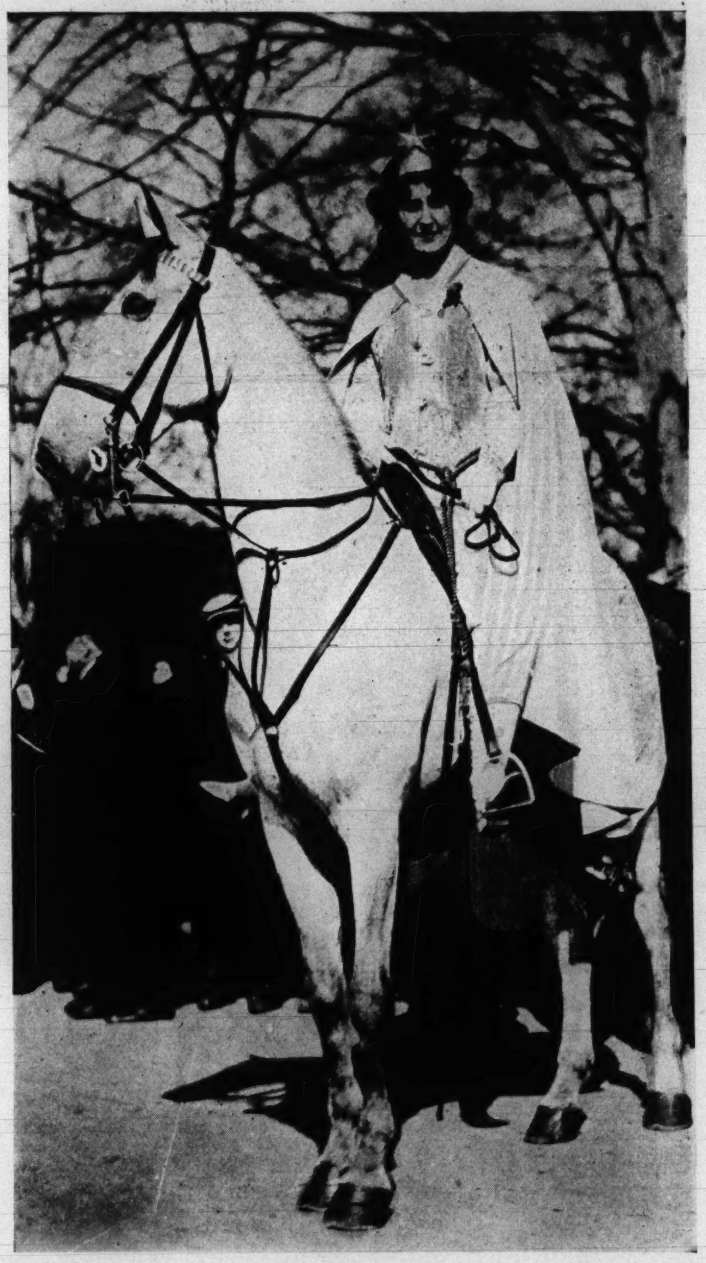
For half a century following the Revolution, individual women urged and demanded greater freedom for women. They agitated for better education, for admission to the professions, for a voice in the government of the schools, for property rights and equality before the law. A few were finally roused to the necessity for concentrated organized work for the right of suffrage as the right fundamental to all others.

It was when Lucretia Mott and Mrs. Stanton were excluded as delegates from the World's Anti-Slavery convention in England that they determined that a Woman's Rights convention should be held at once and called it to meet in Seneca Falls, July 19th and 20th, 1848. By this convention a nucleus was formed around which women who had rebelled and dreamed in isolation could gather together in effective action. Yet even at this convention there were those who did not recognize that the right to vote is the fundamental right in a democracy and the only resolution which failed of unanimous adoption was that which urged the elective franchise for women!

It was shortly after this convention, interested by the discussion which it aroused, that Susan B. Anthony, a Quaker like Lucretia Mott, determined to devote herself to the woman's movement and became the great leader of the cause.

Through the mining camps of California, through the unsettled middle west, into the unfriendly centers of the southern states, and through New England for years Miss Anthony travelled, making her demand for "equal rights." Men and women, forebears of the careless crowds who ridiculed the pickets of 1917, called her "mad," denounced it as a scandal that she should speak from public platforms and hounded her with ridicule from place to place, but she and other women who worked as she did, slowly won converts and suffrage agitation and suffrage sentiment were increased steadily until the Civil War. During the war, in spite of Miss Anthony's protests and because men in Congress promised that when the war was over "justice would be done," work for woman suffrage ceased. When at the end of the war justice was not done them, it was Miss Anthony who once more roused women to demand the franchise as their right, and sought an interpretation of the 14th and 15th amendments which would permit women to vote.

It was Miss Anthony, too, who first saw clearly that enfranchisement by federal action was the direct and just method, and it is by this method that political freedom for women has been won. The same methods and the same political policies inaugurated by Miss Anthony when she began the campaign for the amendment were followed at the end. The campaign was begun in militancy and ended in militancy; the policy at the beginning was to hold the party in power responsible, and this was the policy at the end; while in between, for some fifty years, women were compelled, in order to lay the foundation of their power, to work in the states, to convert individuals, and during this time the movement was conservative and marked by a dogged determination instead of the earlier inspired passion.



**Inez Milholland, youthful leader of the first great suffrage parade in Washington, and leader always among the women of her time**

Certainly nothing more militant—nor anything braver—was said in the course of the whole, long fight, than Miss Anthony's statement to the court that tried, convicted and fined her, when she tested her right to vote under the Civil War amendments by going to the polls and casting a ballot.

> "May it please Your Honor, I will never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty and I shall earnestly and persistently continue to urge all women to the practical recognition of the old Revolutionary maxim that resistance to tyranny is obedience to God."

As to the policy of holding the party in power in Congress and in the state legislatures responsible for the amendment, criticised as an innovation during the last years of the fight, Miss Anthony said:

> "My view of our true position is to hold ourselves as a balance to power, 'to give aid and comfort' to the party whch shall inscribe on its banners 'Freedom for Women.' I do not expect any *man* to see and act with me here, but I do not understand how any *woman* can do otherwise than refuse to accept any party which ignores her sex. It is not that I have

Lucretia Mott

Elizabeth Cady Stanton

Susan B. Anthony

no opinions on the many and grave questions that distract and divide the parties, but it is that, in my judgment, the right of self-government for half of the people is of far more vital consequence to the nation than any or all other questions."

This was the spirit in which Miss Anthony began the work for the federal amendment, which was first introduced in the United States Senate on January 10, 1878. She finally recognized the necessity for state campaigns in order to build up political power in the hands of women to back their demands in Congress, but she always stood for enfranchisement by federal enactment.

For twenty years or more state campaigns occupied the attention and consumed the energy of women almost to the exclusion of work with Congress.

Slowly, state by state, women secured votes and then finally in one year, through the efforts of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, four western states won suffrage, bringing the total number of women voters to over four million. At this point Alice Paul, third Quaker leader of suffrage and successor to the earlier militants, came into the movement with faith and the fresh viewpoint of an outsider, and saw that women had now in their own hands the power they needed to secure action from Congress. In spite of every opposition she brought the fight back to Washington and forced the amendment into the political foreground.

Women voters persistently demanded action from Congress—and got it

In 1913 the Congressional Union for Women Suffrage was formed, with the passage of the amendment as its only purpose and its policy the holding of the party in power responsible through the votes of enfranchised women. In 1916 it became the National Woman's Party. In line with the principle voiced by Susan B. Anthony, it was opened to all women "who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, support it irrespective of any national party."

When the organization was formed, the federal amendment had not been discussed in Congress since 1887, and a hundred votes were lacking. Both political parties were opposed to it, party platforms were silent, and the leader of the majority party, the President of the nation, declared to the first deputation of women which waited upon him after his inauguration, that woman suffrage was a subject to which he had given "no thought." Within seven years, every political party stood for the federal amendment; President Wilson, in a special message, appealed to Congress for its passage and publicly worked for its ratification; the amendment passed both Houses, and was adopted by thirty-six states while the Republcan and Democratic parties contended for the credit of the victory.

The intensive campaign for the national amendment was begun on the day before President Wilson's first inauguration. Ten thousand women, led by Inez Milholland, marched from the Capitol to the White House, that the incoming administration might know the strength of the women's demand for suffrage. The procession, starting as a beautiful pageant, was turned by the Washington mob into a riot. So

great was the excitement that the President, arriving at an empty station, inquired "where are the people?" and was told "they're out watching the suffragists parade!"

Immediately after his inauguration, a succession of deputations of suffragists waited upon President Wilson, Congress on its opening day was visited by a delegation representing every congressional district in the country, and upon both was impressed the demand of women for the passage of the amendment.

From then until the final enfranchisement of women, this demand was persistently made both at the White House and on the Hill. The first procession, in spite of the mobbing, was followed by a series of processions. The first delegation to Congress was followed by larger and larger delegations. The first deputation was followed by a series of deputations, finally merging into the perpetual deputation maintained in the suffrage picket line and by the suffrage watchfires at the White House. Not for a day during the seven years that followed was the Administration or Congress allowed to forget that this question was clamoring for settlement.

**In the 1914 congressional campaign the Woman's Party toured every suffrage State**

The campaign which resulted in the President's appearing before Congress to urge the passage of the amendment; in a contest between the political leaders of both parties as to which should be responsible for the passage of the measure; in a two-thirds vote in Congress and 36 ratifications, was a political campaign of varied phases. At every election during the seven years of its existence, the Woman's Party sought to make suffrage a dominating issue in the campaign; it appealed to women already enfranchised to use their votes as a weapon to win suffrage for other women by withholding their support from any individual or party that blocked the amendment.

Between campaigns the attention of the nation was fixed on the party and the individuals responsible for the amendment's delay by mass meetings, by "specials" touring from state to state, and by persistent demonstrations at the gates of the White House.

The chronological record of events best tells the story:

Following the procession and deputations at the opening of the administration, the suffrage amendment was introduced in both houses of Congress. When, after a campaign of several months it was reported out of committee in the Senate, 48 women representing each of the states arrived at the Capitol with petitions for the passage of the measure in the Senate, directed to each Senator from the people of his state. On that day suffrage was debated in the Senate for the first time since 1887. The following March, 1914, it was voted on in the Senate and failed of a two-thirds majority by only eleven votes.

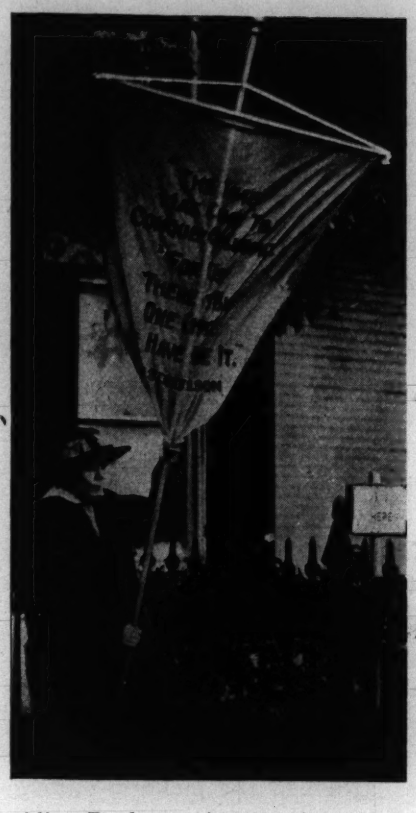
**No storm ever furled a picket banner**

In the lower house the amendment was delayed in the Judiciary Committee for over a year. It was reported out only after a nation-wide campaign culminating in a demonstration of protest on May 2, 1914, in which processions and mass meetings were held in all the great cities, in hundreds of country towns, in schools and colleges everywhere, and followed by a great procession in Washington, when the resolutions passed all over the country were carried to Congress. The amendment then fell into the clutches of the Rules Committee and was rescued from it only by the most persistent efforts. Chairman Henry of this committee finally wrote Alice Paul:

"It would give me great pleasure to report the resolution to the House except for the fact that the Democratic caucus, by its direct action, has tied my hands and placed me in a position where I will not be authorized to do so unless it reconvenes and changes its decision. I am sure your good judgment will cause you to thoroughly understand my position."

Its "good judgment" taught the Woman's Party that the next thing to do was to enter the election campaign

**One of many hearings before the obdurate Rules Committee**



**Alice Paul carrying her banner to the picket line**

and appeal to women voters not to return to Congress the party that continued to block suffrage for women. Of the 42 men runuing for Congress from suffrage states whom the Woman's Party opposed, only 21 were elected. Following this practical protest by the women voters the party in power ceased its obstruction, and on January 12, 1915, the amendment was permitted for the first time in its history to come to a vote in the lower House. Though it failed at this time by 73 votes the members of Congress were at last put definitely on record.

Meanwhile President Wilson had steadily progressed from the time of the first deputation when he had "no opinion" and asked for "information," until by the end of 1913 he had received sufficient information to be "deeply interested" and to say to a deputation of New Jersey women, "You may rest assured I will give it my earnest attention." Shortly after this he was concealing his own position behind that of his party and told a delegation in December, 1913, representing the women of every state: "I am not at liberty to urge upon Congress policies which have not had the organic consideration of those for whom I am spokesman (the Democratic Party). I am by my own principles shut out, in the language of the street, from 'starting anything.' I have to confine myself to those things which have been embodied as promised to the people at an election."

Early in 1914 he said to a committee of industrial women:

"Until the Democratic Party has considered a matter of this very supreme importance and taken its position, I am not at liberty to speak for it. As yet I am not at liberty to speak as an individual. That is the limitation I am under, and all that I can say to you ladies is that the strength of your agitation will make a profound impression."

**Back from jail**

By the summer of 1914, however, he had arrived at a conviction of his own, but contrary to the impression just created by his success in putting through Congress a Panama tolls measure opposed to the Baltimore platform, he was still unable to move off the platform—and the platform had no suffrage plank.

"It is my conviction," he said at the end of 1914 to Anne Martin, who had just won suffrage for Nevada and who waited upon him as the representative of women voters of her state, "that this is a matter for settlement by the states and not by the federal government, and therefore, that being my personal conviction, and it being obvious that there is no ground for discouragement in the progress you are making, and my passion being for local self-government, I can only say that I am probably in agreement with those who framed the platform (of the Democratic Party)."

When a little later, January, 1915, a group of Democratic women came to see him, the President had had his convictions on states rights all his life, and clung to them instead of to the platform. He declared at this time, "I am most unaffectedly complimented by this visit that you have paid me. I want to say that no one can look on the fight you are making without great admiration, and I certainly am one of those who admire the tenacity and the skill and the address with which you try to promote the matter you are interested in. But, ladies, I am tied to a conviction which I have had all my life that changes of this sort ought to be brought about state by state."

**Rebuilding a scattered watch fire**

Once more the National Woman's Party turned to the women voters as those who alone had power to alter the suffrage convictions of men elected to represent them in Washington. A convention of women voters, the first in history, was called to meet at the Pan-American Exposition in San Francisco in September, 1915. Thousands of women attended and in a spirit of uplifted enthusiasm appointed delegates to carry a promise of support to the unenfranchised women of the east, and a demand for the amendment's passage to the Administration and Congress.

It was after the convention of women voters that President Wilson made his first declaration in favor of woman's suffrage by journeying to New Jersey and casting his vote for the state suffrage bill.

In the spring of 1916, a suffrage special sent by the Woman's Party through the western states roused the voting women to the need of a woman's political party to work for the enfranchisement of all women. The party was organized at Chicago in June with the single plank,

national suffrage for women. Suffrage planks were thereupon, for the first time, included in the platforms of the two great political parties, and planks supporting the national suffrage amendment were for the first time placed in the platforms of the minority parties.

Before the Democratic convention President Wilson had stated to the convention of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association at Atlantic City that he had come "to fight with them" and "to suggest among other things that when the forces of nature are steadily working and the tide is rising to meet the moon you need not be afraid that it will not come to its flood."

He seemed, however, to have changed his mind on the sufficiency of this laissez faire policy when, after the 1916 election in which the Woman's Party campaign had nearly lost him the vote of California and the Presidency, he met the last deputation which the Woman's Party ever sent to him.

"As the leader of a party," said the President, "My commands come from that party and not from private personal convictions. . . . In this as in every other self-governing country, it is really through the instrumentality of parties that things can be accomplished. They are not accomplished by the individual voice, but by concerted action, and that action must only come so fast as you can concert it. I shall continue to do my best to concert it in the interest of a cause in which I personally believe."

Convinced that the President had been moved as far as he could be by the pleas of occasional deputations of women and that more continuous pressure must be brought to bear upon him, the Woman's Party decided that women should daily take their stand at the gates of the White House with the purple, white, and gold banners that in their demand for freedom carried an accusation of oppression.

Comparatively few men and women had at this time realized the four years' blockade against woman suffrage by the Democratic Congress, but every state in the Union soon realized that the reason women were picketing the President was because he was "holding up suffrage."

At first a bit of picturesque color at his gates, the suffrage pickets, with their flags of freedom became an increasing embarrasment to the President, as he led the nation into a war he declared was a war for democracy abroad. From day to day the banners held up before him his own phrases.

"We shall fight for the thing we have always held nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to a voice in their own government."

Or: "Liberty is the fundamental demand of the human spirit."

Or: "I tell you solemnly, ladies and gentlemen, we cannot any longer delay justice in these United States."

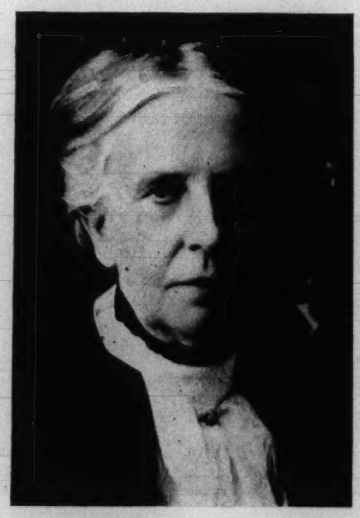
Or: "I don't wish to sit down and let any man take care of me without my having at least a voice in it. And if he doesn't listen to my advice, I am going to make it as unpleasant for him as I can."

In June, 1917, the Administration demanded that the daily silent demand for democracy at home stop. The pickets were arrested, released, sentenced, pardoned—and always there were more—from Maine, or Kansas or California. Terms in jail, terms in the workhouse at Occuquan steadily increased in length throughout the summer, but the banners remained before the White House. Mobs, unmolested, attacked the pickets, pulled their banners into the street, dragged the women down, but still the banners were carried in long glowing lines from the headquarters. And then at last for carrying that banner, quoted from the President, "The time has come for us to conquer or submit. For us there can be but one choice. We have made it." Alice Paul got seven months in prison.

The country realized the suffragists were in earnest. Politicians began to question the wisdom of the Administration tactics in regard to suffrage, and official callers at the White House left by back gates. "Let me out the other way, I don't want to see those damn women arrested" was the way one high-placed person put it. At the end of 1917, after half a year of arrests and imprisonments the harassed Democratic Administration capitulated by setting free without explanation, all the suffrage prisoners—forty-five of them—who were then in the

(*Continued on page 220*)

**Members of the Woman's Party who began the suffrage fight under Susan B. Anthony and shared in its triumph under Alice Paul**



**Rev. Olympia Brown**

**Mrs. Mary Nolan**

**Mrs. Mary Lee Stark**

# Tennessee---The 36th

MAKING the most of all the dramatic possibilities, Tennessee—after a week's suspense had almost reduced suffragists to a conviction of defeat, gave the final vote for ratification on August 18, and enfranchised 27,000,000 women.

Uncertainty lasted to the very climax when, after a tie vote in the House which would have defeated the amendment, Governor Roberts went upon the floor and in the name of the Democratic party, its leaders and its platform, prevailed upon an additional Democratic member to cast his vote for the amendment.

The great national forces for and against the enfranchisement of women came to final grips in Tennessee. The bitter contests in New Jersey, West Virginia and Delaware were only a prelude to the opposition encountered in this thirty-sixth state—an opposition which continued through every political maneuver for two days after the ratification vote was cast. But the earlier contests had served their purpose. The national political forces were aware of the energy which must be put into the campaign to achieve success.

**Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, political chairman of the National Woman's Party, and Governor Cox consult, in his executive offices at Columbus, over the ratification poll of the Tennessee legislature.**

Convinced that only the national parties and the presidential nominee as leaders of those parties could exert an influence which would offset the influence of outside opposing forces, the National Woman's Party acknowledged Ohio as the center of the field of battle.

Even before the calling or convening of the special session in Tennessee, the importance of the action of that state was made clear to the Democratic party by persistent work at its national convention in San Francisco. Following this, delegations of the Woman's Party which, late in June and early in July, waited upon Senator Harding and Governor Cox in Ohio, made Tennessee the theme of their arguments. At the suggestion of Governor Cox, a committee was at this time appointed to consult with him constantly on the Tennessee situation.

With the convening of the special session, the Woman's Party campaign developed a three-fold character. Efforts with the presidential candidates were redoubled. Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, political chairman of the Woman's Party, who went to Ohio herself to work with Mrs. James Rector, member of the advisory council in that state, kept in daily touch with Governor Cox and held repeated consultations with Senator Harding. From Washington, where Alice Paul remained throughout the campaign, other national political forces were induced to exert every possible pressure for favorable action; while in Tennessee there was an intensive state-wide campaign under the direction of Miss Sue White, the state chairman. Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Delaware chairman of the Woman's Party, was sent by the Delaware branch to assist in the work in order that Delaware might, after all, have some part in the victory. Miss Mary Winsor, of Philadelphia, represented Pennsylvania. The most experienced of the ratification workers who had taken part in the other hard-fought contests—Miss Anita Pollitzer, Miss Betty Gram and Miss Catherine Flanagan campaigned before the opening of the session in the home districts of the members and later concentrated their efforts in Nashville. Mrs. Mabel Reber was in charge of the publicity.

Before leaving Washington for Tennessee, Miss White polled the legislature by letter and wire. Supplementing this poll by interviews with the members in their home districts, the Woman's Party organizers secured a majority in both Houses of the legislature for ratification. Everything seemed hopeful. The sentiment of the state, which had already granted presidential suffrage to its own women, was undoubtedly in favor of ratification. The members of the legislature, convinced by opinions rendered by state and national attorneys that action on the amendment at a special session was legal, were ready to vote for it.

The day of the session came. The men arrived in Nashville. Poll and pledges in hand, the Woman's Party workers approached them. One by one the

pledges disappeared, name by name the poll was altered. The constitutional objection was resurrected. Men argued and wavered. They declared that they had not given the matter sufficient thought; that they had overlooked their inmost convictions; and then—sure indication of the strength of the opposition forces at work—Speaker Walker of the House, who had agreed to introduce the suffrage resolution and had stated publicly that nothing could move him from support of the amendment, announced he was opposed to ratification.

On Friday, the 13th, the tide of opposition was momentarily checked by the passage of the ratification resolution in the Senate with a generous vote of 24—5. But adjournment of the House until Monday was seized as an opportunity by the opponents of ratification for their most effective work. A succession of telegrams went from Tennessee to Washington, from Washington to Ohio, from Ohio to Tennessee and repeatedly round this circle.

**Sue White, Tennessee State Chairman of the Woman's Party, leader in the final campaign for ratification.**

Governor Roberts, following urgent appeals from Governor Cox, George White, chairman of the National Democratic Committee, and assisted by other Democratic leaders in the state, urged every argument for ratification upon the members of the legislature. Among the Democratic men most active in behalf of ratification were: United States Senator McKellar, former Senator Luke Lea, State Senator Todd, speaker of the Senate; Mr. Cordell Hull and the floor leaders for the suffrage resolution in the Lower House, Mr. T. K. Riddick and Mr. Joseph Hanover.

Meanwhile, Miss Pollitzer was holding a constant succession of interviews with the Republican state leaders in an effort to secure a large vote from the Republican delegation, and had the constant cooperation of former United States Senator Newell Sanders; the Republican nominee for governor Alfred Taylor; former governor Ben Hooper; State Senator John C. Houk, Congressman Sells, Congressman Taylor, Jesse Littleton, former mayor of Chattanooga, and Mr. Joseph Fowler, whose legal opinion to the effect that if it was not constitutional to vote for the amendment, it was not constitutional to vote against it, had much weight with the members of the legislature.

Republican organizations in various parts of the country also endeavored to secure decisive action from Senator Harding and a good Republican vote in Tennessee. Notable among these organizations was the Harding-Coolidge League of the District of Columbia, of which Mr. Winfield Jones is executive chairman.

On Monday, the legislature met and the battle was on. For two days both sides struggled for the advantage.

**Parley P. Christensen, presidential nominee of the Farmer-Labor Party, taken in front of the Nashville headquarters of the Woman's Party, with a group of suffragists, immediately after his appeal for ratification, made before a mass meeting in the Tennessee Capital. Mr. Christensen made a special trip to Tennessee to work for woman suffrage and emphasize his Party's position on this issue.**

On Tuesday, one of the suffragists pledged in the House was forced to leave Nashville for his home because of the critical illness of his wife. Another suffragist was unable to attend the session because of his own illness.

With two of the suffrage members away, the resolution came to a vote on Wednesday and was passed, supported by a large number of the Republican delegation, and carried by the final Democratic vote secured by the appeal of Governor Roberts for support of the party platform.

Speaker Walker changed his vote in order to move for reconsideration. The anti-suffragists continued their struggle and endeavored to persuade men who had voted for ratification to leave Nashville and, on the plea of sickness, be absent from the legislature for the two days during which reconsideration was possible. This last effort was also defeated—the national parties held their votes intact and suffrage triumphed finally over every force opposing it.

The part played in the Tennessee campaign by Governor Cox and Senator Harding is indicated in the following succession of telegrams and letters.

On July 23, the day following the deputation of the Woman's Party to him, Senator Harding made his first tentative entry into the Tennessee campaign when he telegraphed to State Senator Houk as follows:

> "I have your message asking me if I would advise that the Republicans of the Tennessee legislature vote for ratification of the woman's suffrage amendment. It is my earnest hope that the Republicans in the Tennessee legislature acting upon solemn conviction can see their way clear to give their support to this amendment. I believe in suffrage; our party has endorsed it in our national platform; twenty-nine Republican states have ratified the amendment; but one more state is needed to enfranchise every loyal American woman, and it would be gratifying to me personally if the Republican members of the Tennessee legislature accomplished that enfranchisement."

On July 30, Senator Harding drew back in his efforts in Tennessee in the following telegram to the Harding-Coolidge League of the District of Columbia:

> "Your telegram received. You can understand why I cannot consistently urge Tennessee legislators to vote for ratification without knowing their reasons or such committals as they may have made. The situation is being reported to National Headquarters, where it will be given attention at once."

On August 4, Mrs. Baker wired Miss Paul:

> "Harding this morning promised to wire today to Congressmen Sells and Taylor of Tennessee to immediately endeavor to pledge the men from their district; also to wire to his special representative in the state to take immediate poll and report; also to wire Jesse Littleton, Republican candidate for governor, urging him to help."

On August 6, the following telegram was sent by Senator Harding to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt:

**Miss Anita Pollitzer, legislative secretary of the Woman's Party, conferring with a trio of suffrage supporters in front of the Nashville headquarters. Left to right: Senator John C. Houk of Knoxville, Miss Pollitzer, Mayor E. W. Neal of Knoxville, and Representative B. L. Johnson of Andersonville.**

> "Your telegram received. No discouragement is voiced from here. On the contrary, we are continuing to encourage the Republicans of the Tennessee General Assembly to join cordially in the effort to consummate ratification."

On August 6, Senator Harding again wired State Senator Houk, apparently reconsidering his decision to take no part in the campaign:

> "With the approach of a decision by the General Assembly of Tennessee on the matter of ratifying

the suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution, I would like to be advised as to poll of Republican members. I cling to the belief that Tennessee Republicans are in a position to serve both party and country by effecting ratification. Will welcome advice as to whether I can aid in securing this act of justice to the woman citizenship of our Nation."

**Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Delaware State Chairman of the Woman's Party, and Speaker Todd of the Tennessee Senate congratulating each other after the victory in the upper house.**

On August 8, Senator Harding sent the following message to Mrs. Harriett Taylor Upton, who was acting in Tennessee in the name of the National Republican Committee:

> "You may say for me to Republican members of the general assembly of Tennessee that it will be highly pleasing to have the Republicans of that state play their full and becoming part in consummating the constitutional grant of woman suffrage. It is no longer a question of policy, it is a matter of Republican contribution to a grant of suffrage to which our party is committed and for which our party is in the main responsible."

On August 9, Miss Paul received the following message from Miss Pollitzer:

> "Republicans must bring pressure or we may lose; caucus leaders do not believe Republicans nationally care. Wires should be sent from Harding. Unless Harding does more than he has done we may face defeat for lack of Republican support."

Ou August 10, Senator Harding endangered whatever efforts he had made to assist ratification by the following letter to Judge G. N. Gillman of Tennessee:

> "I had heard something about the constitutional inhibition against your legislature acting upon the Federal amendment, but I did not know of the explicit provision to which you make reference. I quite agree with you that members of the general assembly cannot ignore the state constitution. * * * I did say and I still believe it would be a fortunate thing for Republicans to play their full part in bringing about ratification, I should be very unfair to you and should very much misrepresent my own convictions if I urged you to vote for ratification when you hold to a very conscientious belief that there is a constitutional inhibition which prevents your doing so until after an election has been held.
>
> "I do not want you to have any doubt of my belief in the desirability of ratification, but I am just as earnest about expressing myself in favor of fidelity to conscience in the performance of a public service."

On August 11, Republican Chairman Will Hays, after consultation with Senator Harding at Marion, wired the Republican members of the Tennessee legislature as follows:

> "My deep interest in the ratification of the suffrage amendment induces me to presume to communicate again to you the resolution passed by the national committee in February, 1918, January, 1919, December, 1919, and by the executive committee in Columbus, Ohio, last month, all most earnestly urging the Republican legislatures to ratify."

**Miss Catherine Flanagan, national organizer of the Woman's Party, going over the poll of the Tennessee house with United States Representative Sam Sells, a staunch worker in the final campaign.**

To summarize these efforts of the National Republican leaders—from the time that the Tennessee issue was called, the National Woman's Party, through Mrs. John

(*Continued on page 216*)

# How The 36 Were Won

**National organizers of the Woman's Party—one or all of whom have worked in every campaign for ratification. Upper row, left to right: Mrs. William Kerr, of Colorado; Miss Mary Dubrow, of New Jersey; Miss Margaret Whittemore, of Michigan; Miss Vivian Pierce, of California. Center: Miss Julia Emory, of Maryland. Lower row: Miss Catherine Flanagan, of Connecticut; Miss Elsie Hill, of Connecticut; Miss Betty Gram, of Oregon; and Miss Anita Pollitzer, of South Carolina.**

RATIFICATION of the suffrage amendment is now an affair of history and reminiscence. It has been a hard-fought running contest which has shifted back and forth from coast to coast and south to north, but the center of activity has remained fairly constantly in Washington.

Even in suffrage states local affairs—crops, school codes, records for economy were held of more concern than the enfranchisement of the women of a nation. But national political leaders, so complete had been their conversion in the struggle for passage of the amendment, saw the question as a part of the national policy, transcending the interests of any one locality, and constant work with them in Washington brought the pressure that finally secured 36 ratifications.

There is now nothing left but to count our winnings over one by one and hand the story on. It is a story in which the interest increases properly to the climax at the end.

The first days were peaceful enough. Wisconsin on the 10th, Ohio and New York on the 16th of June acted spontaneously, while the governor of Kansas, for no more than the asking, suggested that the members of his legislature meet in special session at their own expense. This they did, and voted unanimously on the same day as New York.

Michigan and Illinois acted in less than a week after the passage of the amendment and ratified on the 10th, though, because of a slight mistake in the wording of the measure, the Illinois legislature was forced to vote again on the 17th. In Michigan the legislature had already been called into special session when the amendment passed the Senate, and because suffrage had not been mentioned in the call it could not have been acted upon had not the governor been induced by the persistent efforts of Michigan leaders of the Woman's Party to add suffrage to the measures to be considered. This arranged, the legislature voted unanimously.

Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Texas, ratifying on the 24th, 25th and 29th of June, made nine victories in less than a month.

Supposed to be a stronghold of anti-ism, Pennsylvania had the honor of being the first non-suffrage state to ratify. The Woman's party opened headquarters in Harrisburg even before the amendment had passed Congress. The situ-

ation was very difficult because the legislature, which was then meeting in regular session, was in its last days and there was a general feeling that no new matter should be taken up, and it was complicated also by the state suffrage bill which the state suffragists had put through preparatory to submitting it to another legislature and then to a referendum. Cooperation of the Governor and of Senator Penrose was secured, with the final result that when the vote was taken, the members of the legislature stood on the floor enthusiastically waving the banners of the National Woman's Party.

In Massachusetts also the anti-suffrage opposition was supposed to be impregnable, but it rapidly collapsed before the Governor's support and because Senator Lodge, who had voted against the measure in Congress, failed to oppose it in the state.

Texas, though a suffrage state, did not present an easy problem, for a referendum for state suffrage had just been defeated. The victory was a triumph for the local members of the National Woman's Party who conducted the campaign.

The first and only legislature called "for the price of a postage stamp" to ratify the amendment was Iowa. Governor Harding at first refused to call a special session, saying that it was unnecessary, as the regular session came in January. But when Senator Cummins, appealed to by the Woman's Party, wrote to the Governor, laying the needs of the suffrage situation before him, Governor Harding issued the call and the amendment was ratified on July 2.

July furnished only three other ratifications. Two of these came without effort on the part of suffragists—Arkansas on July 20 and Montana on July 30. To secure Missouri, which ratified on the 3d, no more was needed than a brief campaign on the Governor for a session.

At the beginning of August, only two states west of the Mississippi had ratified the amendment. To the great disappointment of all women, the suffrage states continued to form an almost solid black mass on the ratification map.

In August but one ratification was added to the list. Nebraska made the 14th state and gave a unanimous vote in both houses, though here too a campaign to secure the session had been necessary.

### The Western Blockade

During August representatives of the Woman's Party attended the governor's conference in Salt Lake City and were unable to secure from the western governors more than the most indefinite and tentative promises except from the Governor of Utah, who promised a special session the end of September. The whole situation seemed so alarming that an immediate intensive campaign was started on the Pacific Coast to break the blockade.

In California work for a special session had begun in June and yet in August there was no prospect of a call, and while the Governor of California, who, like the centurion, kept saying "Yes, yes," but went not, refused a special session, all the other governors of the west shielded themselves behind him. Up and down the state the women toured, proclaiming what they believed the Governor's real reason for refusing a session, and to prove that this was not his reason he called a session for November 1.

September opened with a special session in Minnesota on the 8th and a second in New Hampshire on the 10th. The Woman's Party had carried on campaigns in both states since the passage of the amendment, and both ratified promptly. Once the hesitancy of the western governors in the matter of calling special sessions was overcome, everything went smoothly. On the last day of the month Utah ratified unanimously and was followed the next day by a practically unanimous vote on the part of California.

### A Close Call

Up to this time, once legislatures had been gotten together, the vote for suffrage had been overwhelming—38 to 1, 125 to 4, 27 to 3, 73 to 6—so they ran.

Now came the first close call, in Maine. A referendum for full suffrage was pending and the anti-suffragists introduced a resolution in the legislature proposing the postponement of action on ratification until after the referendum. The president and secretary of the state Federation of Labor were induced to enter an official appeal to every member of the legislature to vote for this resolution. The Woman's Party in Washington thereupon obtained from the American Federation of Labor a letter to the Maine Federation stating that the national body stood strongly for ratification. A prolonged conference of the Woman's Party with the president of the State Federation persuaded him to repudiate his former letter and to issue a contradiction supporting ratification. Telegrams were also secured from national leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties, and ratification was carried, with a margin of four votes.

No more ratifications were secured until December, when, on the first of the month North Dakota, after a siege upon the Governor, called a session and ratified.

South Dakota, where the legislators generously paid their own expenses and gave a unanimous vote on December 4, was one of the states in which a special session was won from Washington. Governor Norbeck agreed to call a session if a majority of the legislators would serve without mileage or salary. The day before Thanksgiving, Governor Norbeck telegraphed to the Woman's Party headquarters that he had decided not to call the session, since he was sixteen short. The Woman's Party redoubled its efforts. Members of Congress from South Dakota, members of the Republican Congressional Committee, and other nationally influential men were induced to appeal to political leaders in the state, to make the situation clear to the members of the legislature. Three days later a telegram was received that the majority had been secured.

Colorado, though it gave a unanimous vote on December 12, required a prolonged campaign for a special session because of local political conditions. It was the last state to ratify in 1919.

With January the tide began to turn and five states ratified at special or regular sessions. Rhode Island, where the Governor had long refused to summon a session, ratified January 6 in regular session, and Kentucky,

also in regular session, on the same day. In both states polls were made of the legislatures and several weeks of preliminary work carried on by the Woman's Party.

Letters were sent to Governor Davis of Idaho from the National Headquarters and deputations from the women of the state waited upon him, immediately after the passage of the amendment in Congress. On July 29, Miss Mabel Vernon interviewed Governor Davis, who stated that he would call a special session of the Idaho legislature in time to ratify the suffrage amendment before the 1920 elections, but he refused to aid the suffragists in their program to have all suffrage states ratify early and give momentum to the campaign. The expense to the state and individual members of the legislature was offered as an excuse for delay.

Senator Borah's opposition was believed by many women of the state to be the reason for the delay, but both excuse and reason were finally overcome by insistent pressure from Washington and from the suffragists of Idaho. The session was called for February 11.

### Arizona

In Arizona the situation was equally difficult. The Governor refused to call a session, and his reason was so vague that it was difficult to combat. In August, Governor Campbell was interviewed during the conference of Governors in Washington and stated that he was considering calling a session in October. In September, however, he wrote the National Woman's Party that he had given up the idea of calling a session in 1919, and it was not until February 12 that he was finally induced to let the legislature meet.

New Mexico and Oklahoma, coming on the 19th and 27th, gave February a record of six ratifications, a record exceeded only by that of June.

### New Mexico

New Mexico, though not a suffrage state, was supposed to be friendly, but as the day for the vote approached there came to the National Woman's Party Headquarters in Washington rumors of a "plot." The situation developed all the possibilities of melodrama. Midnight consultations were held in Washington. Telegrams flew back and forth not only in English but in Spanish. When the legislators began to gather, the plot—which consisted in the submission of a referendum resolution for ratification—was found to be making excellent progress among them. It was the efforts of national Republican leaders persuaded by the National Woman's Party to bend their efforts on New Mexico which secured a favorable vote in that state.

### Oklahoma

The enemy, routed in New Mexico, moved into Oklahoma. This was the only full suffrage state in which, a special session once secured, any serious opposition to ratification was encountered. The special session in the first place had been won after months of opposition on the part of the Governor and had been won finally only by securing a resolution from the Democratic State Committee, requesting that the legislature be summoned. In Oklahoma, also, the plan of the opposition was to secure a referendum.

Telegrams from the local branch of the Woman's Party to National Headquarters resulted in a steady stream of messages and telegrams from Oklahoma Senators and Representatives to the leaders in that state. Senator Owen, known to be the staunchest friend of the referendum, explained that in this instance a referendum would be tantamount to defeat, since it would delay ratification until after the 1920 elections. These messages to Oklahoma culminated in one from President Wilson.

After six hours of debate the amendment was ratified, first in the House, then in the Senate.

The Governors of Oregon and Indiana finally gave in to the constantly repeated appeals for special sessions, and their legislatures voted, in the case of Oregon unanimously, and in the case of Indiana practically unanimously, the middle of the month.

A special session called in Wyoming for January 27, and which ratified unanimously, was secured almost entirely from Washington. A press campaign directed from the national capital broke down the Governor's opposition to a session and appeals from party leaders secured the attendance of members of the legislature at their own expense.

In Nevada, too, the opposition of a Governor afraid of other issues being brought up, for many months stood between women and an almost unanimous vote for ratification, but through pressure on Democratic leaders, a session was secured early in February.

### The Opposition Desperate

The opposition began now to realize its fate and with each state put up an increasingly bitter campaign.

Just how hard the battle was in New Jersey is shown in the following letter from Mr. Frank Barrow, representative, of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, who was induced by the Woman's Party leaders to join in the fight just before the vote was taken.

He lists the obstacles in this way:

> "1. The last Republican state platform on which members of the legislature were elected declared for a referendum.
>
> "2. The Republican State Chairman was an open and avowed anti-suffragist.
>
> "3. The biggest Republican boss of New Jersey was actively hostile to the suffrage movement.
>
> "4. The biggest Democratic boss of New Jersey was actively hostile to the suffrage movement.
>
> "5. The tremendous political influence exerted through the Fiegelspan liquor interests was actively and openly working against us."

Mr. Barrow concludes his letter with praise for the work of the Woman's Party in the state:

> "When I landed in Trenton I found the work had all been done and a safe majority rounded up and securely 'corralled.' All I could do was walk around the outside of the corral, look a bit fierce and say 'Shoo' whenever any of them tried to break through the fence."

Fortunately Idaho and Arizona, following immediately after New Jersey, required practically no attention once the sessions had been called. To secure the sessions, however, had required persistent and vigorous campaigning for many months.

(*Continued on page 221*)

# "Women Are Free at Last In All the Land"

*Chant Royal*

**Charlotte Perkins Gilman**

WAKEN, O Woman, to the trumpet sound
Greeting our day of long sought liberty;
Gone are the ages that have held us bound
Beneath a master, now we stand as he,
Free for world-service unto all mankind,
Free of the dragging chains that used to bind,
The sordid labor, the unnoticed woe,
The helpless shame, the unresisted blow,
Submission to our owner's least command—
No longer pets or slaves are we, for lo!
Women are free at last in all the land.

Long was the stony road our feet have found
From that dark past to the new world we see,
Each step with heavy hindrance hemmed around,
Each door to freedom closed with bolt and key;
Our feet with old tradition all entwined,
Untrained, uneducated, uncombined,
We had to fight old faiths of long ago,
And in our households find our dearest foe,
Against the world's whole weight we had to stand
Till came the day it could no more say no—
Women are free at last in all the land.

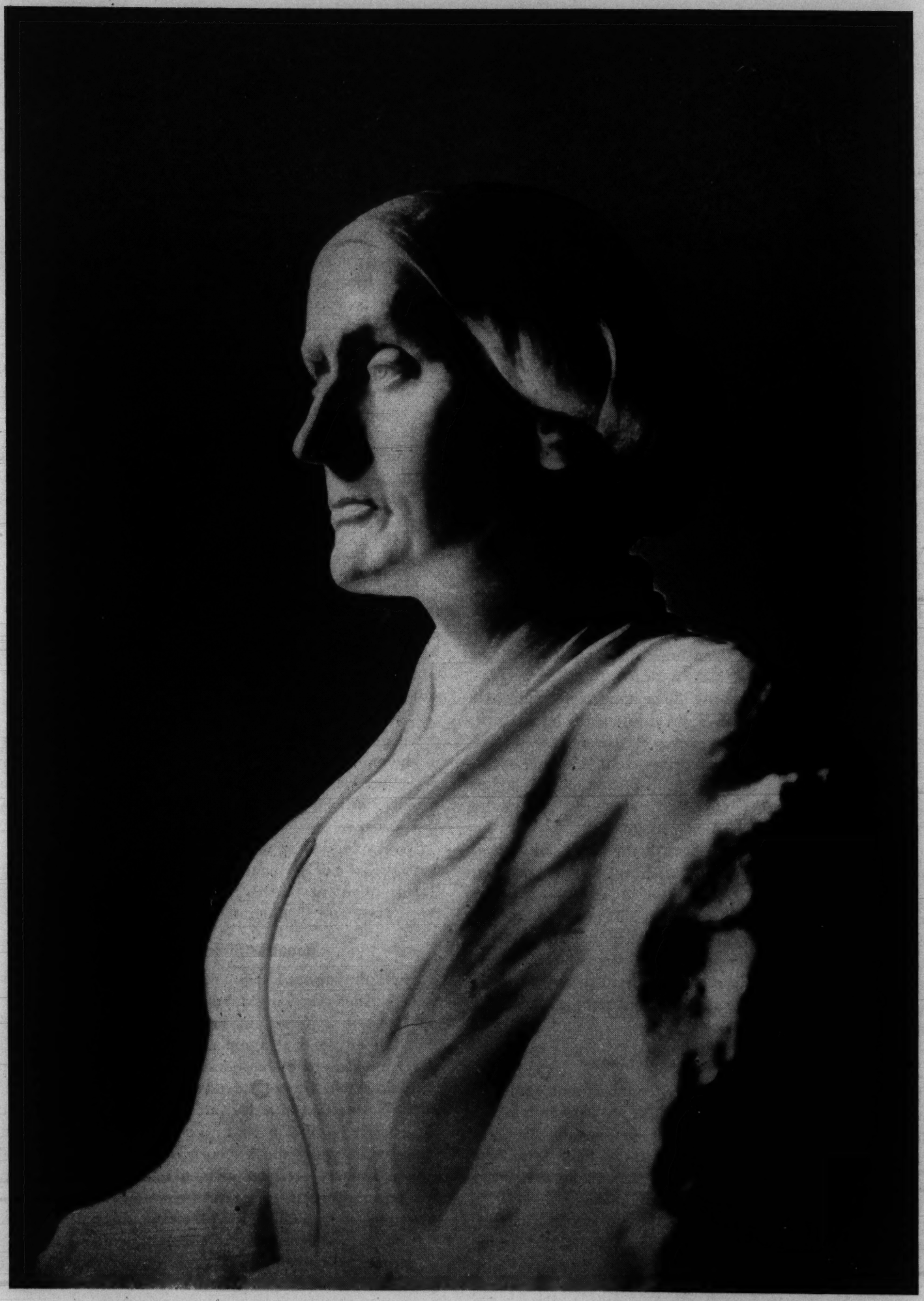
Around us prejudice, emotion-drowned,
Rose like a flood and would not let us free;
Women themselves, soft-bred and silken gowned,
Historic shame have won by their mad plea
To keep their own subjection; with them lined
All evil forces of the world we find,
No crime so brazen and no vice so low
But fought us, with inertia blind and slow,
And ignorance beneath its darkling brand,
With these we strove and still must strive, although
Women are free at last in all the land.

The serving squaw, the peasant, toil-embrowned,
The household drudge, no honor and no fee—
For these we now see women world-renowned,
In art and science, work of all degree.
She whom world progress had left far behind
Now has the secret of full life divined,—
Her largest service gladly to bestow;
Great is the gain since ages far below,
In honored labor, both of head and hand
Now may her power and genius clearly show
Women are free at last in all the land.

Long years of effort to her praise redound,
To such high courage all may bend the knee,
Beside her brother, with full freedom crowned,
Mother and wife and citizen is she,
Queen of her soul and body, heart and mind,
Strong for the noble service God designed;
See now the marching millions, row on row,
With steady eyes and faces all aglow,
They come! they come! a glad triumphant band,—
Roses and laurels in their pathway strow—
Women are free at last in all the land!

ENVOI

Sisters! we now must change the world we know
To one great garden where the child may grow.
New freedom means new duty, broad and grand.
To make a better world and hold it so
Women are free at last in all the land.



SUSAN B. ANTHONY, WHOSE WORK THE WOMEN OF THIS GENERATION
HAVE BUT COMPLETED

# North Carolina Fails to Join The 36

ON August 17 the Senate of the North Carolina legislature defeated ratification by a vote of 25 to 23. By this narrow margin of two votes the amendment was laid on the table until the next regular session of the legislature in January. On August 19 the House defeated it by 67 to 43. By its action the Tennessee legislature denied the Democratic party platform and ignored the advice and appeals of President Wilson, Secretary Daniels, United States Senator Simmons, Governor Bickett, Lieutenant Governor Gardiner, Judge Walter Clark, of the State Supreme Court, and hundreds of other prominent men of the state.

The Woman's Party campaign for ratification in North Carolina began last April when a poll was taken of the legislature. Miss Sue White, Tennessee state chairman, twice went to Raleigh on behalf of the amendment. On her first visit Miss White was present at the Democratic State convention which passed a resolution calling upon the legislature to stand by the pledge of the Democratic Party and ratify the Nineteenth Amendment. It was at this time that North Carolina's senior Senator, Mr. Simmons, and Governor Bickett, came out for ratification.

During and before the special session convened the Woman's Party campaign was in chage of Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, North Carolina state chairman, and Mrs. Anne Calvert Neely, Mississippi state chairman.

The strong opposition of the lower house was evidenced almost immediately upon the convening of the legislature. On the third day of the session sixty-three members of the House—three over a majority—sent a signed telegram to the Tennessee legislature, then convened in special session, urging them to refuse to ratify the suffrage amendment. The telegram read:

"We, the undersigned members of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of North Carolina, constituting the majority of said body, send greetings to the General Assembly of Tennessee and assure you that we will not ratify the Susan B. Anthony amendment interfering with the sovereignty of Tennessee and other states of the Union. We most respectfully request that this measure be not forced upon the people of North Carolina."

### Governor Bickett's Message

But a heartening message of encouragement came on August 13th when Governor Bickett in person made a stirring appeal urging ratification before the General Assembly, declaring that women should have "the first right to speak when the issue is whether or not the world shall henceforth be ruled by reason and righeousness or by blood and iron." He warned the legislators that the most they would be able to do would be to delay for six months a movement they were powerless to defeat.

"We may as well realize, gentlemen," the Governor said, "that this country is no longer an association of states, but a nation. Whatever a majority of the people of the nation want is going to be the law of the land.

"When ever I really want to think seriously about state rights, I go and muse for an hour over the grave of my Confederate grandfather, for I realize now more keenly than ever before that state rights have passed away.

"But there is another and a far deeper reason for not delaying the movement we are powerless to defeat. The big question that is going to be settled in the next six months is whether this nation shall enter an alliance with twenty-nine of the most powerful nations on earth for the purpose of forever delivering humanity from the burdens and horrors of war. On that question the women have a sacred right to be heard, for when cannon roar the women furnish the fodder."

As a result of this appeal the ratification resolution was immediately reported favorably by the Senate committee by a vote of seven to one. This was on Friday the thirteenth, the lucky day upon which the Tennessee Senate ratified the amendment.

### Secretary Daniels in North Carolina

The following day Secretary Daniels entered actively into the fight. In a formal statement in Raleigh he appealed to the legislators as "Southern Democrats" to help win the next election by giving their approval to equal suffrage and bitterly assailed proponents of the states' rights view.

"Shall two southern Democratic states, offered the privilege, ratify in August, give women the right to vote in November and help win the presidency for four years," Secretary Daniels asked, "or let the matter go six months when it will be too late to use those votes to elect Cox and Roosevelt?

"Every legislator who votes for such ratification," he continued "will go back to his people and say proudly, 'I was obedient to the recommendations of the Democratic state and Democratic national platforms.'"

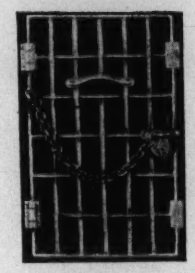
### Senator Simmons' Appeal

Next, on August 15, came the plea of Senator Simmons in the Raleigh *News and Observer*:

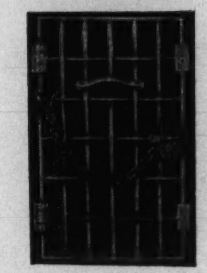
"There is a persistent belief that Republican leaders fear the effect of women's participation in this year's elections while the Democratic leaders believe their participation will be to the advantage of the Democratic Party," Senator Simmons' message ran. "However that may be, it is certain that two great questions, each of vital nation-wide import, both of which in their higher human aspects concern women more deeply than men, will be involved in this year's elections, and upon those questions it is believed women would naturally sympathize with the attitude of the Democratic party.

"Moreover, if women are not allowed to vote this year, their affiliation in the approaching elections will largely determine their future alignment in politics."

The strength of the opposition can be judged by the fact that these appeals were futile.



# Decorated for Service



*Beginning with Susan B. Anthony in 1872, more than five hundred women suffered arrest during the agitation for the vote. The following one hundred and sixty-six served terms in jail, and so won the "prison pin", emblem of the sacrifice of individual liberty for the liberty of all women.*

Miss Minnie D. Abbott
Mrs. Pauline Adams
Miss Edith Ainge
Miss Harriet Andrews
Mrs. Annie Arneil
Miss Berthe Arnold
Miss Virginia Arnold
Mrs. W. D. Ascough

Mrs. Abby Scott Baker
Mrs. Chas. W. Barnes
Mrs. Naomi Barrett
Mrs. W. J. Bartlett
Mrs. Toscan M. Bennett
Miss Hilda Blumberg
Mrs. Kate Boeckh
Mrs. Catherine Boyle
Miss Lucy Branham
Mrs. L. G. Branham
Mrs. John Winters Brannan
Miss Jennie Bronenberg
Mrs. Mary E. Brown
Miss Louise Bryant
Miss Lucy Burns
Mrs. Henry Butterworth

Mrs. Luella Calmes
Miss Eleanor Calnan
Mrs. Agnes Chase
Miss Palys L. Chevrier
Mrs. Helen Chisaski
Mrs. Wallace Chisholm
Miss Josephine Collins
Mrs. A. R. Colvin
Miss Betty Connoly
Mrs. Alice Cosu
Miss Cora Crawford
Miss Gertrude Crocker
Miss Ruth Crocker

Miss Lou C. Daniels
Miss Dorothy Day
Miss Edna Dixon
Miss Lavinia Dock
Mrs. Mary Carroll Dowell
Miss Mary Dubrow
Miss Julia Emory

Mrs. Estelle Eylward
Mrs. Edmund C. Evans
Miss Lucy Ewing

Miss Mary G. Fendall
Miss Catherine Flanagan
Miss Ella Findeisen
Miss Katherine Fisher
Miss Rose Fishstein
Mrs. Rose Gratz Fishstein
Miss Janet Fotheringham
Miss Martha Foley
Mrs. T. W. Forbes

Mrs. Gilson Gardner
Miss Anna Ginsberg
Miss Reba Gomborov
Miss Alice Gram
Miss Betty Gram
Miss Natalie Gray
Mrs. Francis Brooks Green
Miss Gladys Greiner
Mrs. Irving Gross
Miss Anna Gwinter

Miss Elizabeth Hamilton
Miss Ernestine Hara
Miss Rebecca Harrison
Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer
Miss Kate Heffelfinger
Miss Ann Herkimer
Mrs. Jessica Henderson
Miss Minnie Henesy
Miss Elsie Hill
Mrs. George Hill
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles
Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins
Mrs. L. H. Hornsby
Miss Eunice Huff
Miss Elizabeth Huff
Miss Hazel Hunkins
Miss Julia Hurlbut

Miss Mary Ingham

Mrs. Mark Jackson
Mrs. Paula Jacobi

Miss Maud Jamison
Mrs. Peggy Baird Johns
Miss Willie Grace Johnson
Miss Amy Juengling

Miss Elizabeth Green Kalb
Miss Rhoda Kellogg
Mrs. F. W. Kendall
Miss Marie Ernst Kennedy
Mrs. Margaret W. Kessler
Miss Alice Kimball
Mrs. B. R. Kinkead
Mrs. George Koenig
Miss Hattie Kruger
Dr. Anna Kuhn

Miss Katherine Lincoln
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis
Dr. Sarah Lockrey

Miss Elizabeth McShane
Mrs. Annie Magee
Mrs. Effie Boutwell Main
Miss Maude Malone
Miss Anne Martin
Mrs. Louise Parker Mayo
Miss Nell Mercer
Miss Vida Milholland
Mrs. Agnes Morey
Miss Katherine Morey
Mrs. Bertha Moller
Miss Martha W. Moore
Miss Mildred Morris
Mrs. P. G. Munnecke
Miss Gertrude Murphy

Mrs. Mary A. Nolan

Mrs. Margaret Oaks

Miss Alice Paul
Miss Berry Pottier
Miss Edna Purtell

Mrs. R. B. Quay

Mrs. Paul Reyneau

Mrs. C. T. Robertson
Mrs. George E. Roewer
Mrs. John Rogers
Miss Marguerite Rosette
Mrs. H. S. Russian

Miss Nina Samarodin
Mrs. George Scott
Miss Ruth Scott
Mrs. Winfield Shaw
Mrs. Bell Sheinberg
Mrs. Lucile Shields
Mrs. Edwin Shoemaker
Mrs. J. H. Short
Miss Ruth Small
Dr. Caroline Spencer
Mrs. Kate Stafford
Miss Doris Stevens
Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant

Miss Elsie Unterman

Miss Mabel Vernon
Mrs. Elsie Ver Vane

Mrs. Iris Calderhead Walker
Miss Bertha Wallerstein
Mrs. H. R. Walmsley
Mrs. Wm. Upton Watson
Mrs. Robert Walker
Mrs. C. Weaver
Miss Eva Weaver
Mrs. Helena Hill Weed
Miss Sue White
Miss Cora Week
Mrs. Harvey Wiley
Mrs. A. P. Winston
Miss Camilla Whitcomb
Miss Margaret Whittemore
Miss Rose Winslow
Miss Ellen Winsor
Miss Mary Winsor
Miss Clara Wold

Miss Matilda Young
Miss Joy Young

**The government jail at Washington where suffragists were imprisoned for demanding political freedom**

# The Call to Citizenship

## It is Not from Groups or Classes—It Admits of No Half-hearted or Half-minded Response

AN ENGLISH publicist of some repute in liberal circles has recently discoursed on the role of the woman voter in England. He assumes that there are certain public questions which naturally invite especial attention from women and which will appropriately absorb all the interest and energy and intelligence which women may bring into the political field. So far as is known these views have encountered no objection from the public to which they were addressed; yet one may well wonder to what extent English women will actually limit their political activities as suggested.

Meanwhile, signs are not lacking that a similar assumption regarding woman's political province and duties is being extensively made in the United States. Women as voters are to look out for "Child Welfare, Education, Home and High Prices, Public Health and Morals," etc., and in support of this program it is urged that "these are matters in connection with which women, as a rule, are more directly interested and more active than men." Such an assumption is a plausible one; it seems to vindicate the conferring of political powers on women, and politicians of the standard type may feel reassured—believing that their own peculiar domain is not to be seriously invaded after all.

### Releasing Men for Business

It may be freely conceded that there is grave need of vigorous and devoted effort to secure governmental amends in matters which have long been neglected, but this is wholly different from saying that such matters compose the natural and permanent political realm of women and that when women are permitted to give a voter's attention to them men will be morally released to occupy themselves with those other concerns assumed to be their affair; taxation, finance, international relations, and so on. But why not apportion the citizens' jobs in this way? Why not proceed on a theory of a division of labor, with men constituting an "expert" class to whom alone the decisions in a certain range of questions should be trusted, while women attend to the home and adjunct affairs. What fallacy underlies the assumption of that English writer and of other leaders with similar views?

In the first place, commonwealth life today is far too complex to admit of the treatment of any one problem by itself. Any attempt to do so means a mechanical and empirical treatment lacking in analysis and abounding in dangerous ignorance. Thus the question of "home and high prices," for instance, if effectively investigated, leads straight to a study of current business methods, to questions of production, transportation, public and private ownership, cooperation, wages, and profits, and the conserver of the home, studying the problem of prices, is very presently over the borders and in the field of those business matters regarded as peculiarly a man's job. Yet the reasoning sounds so correct. High prices affect the home; whatever affects the home is woman's concern; therefore, high prices are woman's concern. What can be the matter with so plausible a syllogism? Merely that one of the premises is the work of minds that tend to run in the grooves of 1820, when country homes were self-sustaining, economic units, with women staying indoors to spin and weave and sew, and to cook the grains and vegetables and fruits brought in from the surrounding fields; when the town meeting was a man's meeting and the woman had neither a dollar nor a vote.

### Have Reached Ends of Earth

But home in this century takes hold on the ends of the earth. A thousand hands—brown hands and black ones, hard with toil and used to grime—reach across our doorsill to supply the home with what are today accepted as its needs. If whatever affects the home is woman's concern then there is absolutely not one enterprise on this round earth which is not her concern.

Education is instanced as one of those matters to which women voters may appropriately give attention with the object of bettering it and bringing it to all children. Men have indeed made bad work with education; they are not agreed on a definition; they hold no clear-cut and reasoned view, generally accepted, as to what education is and what it is for. Naturally enough this primary failure has resulted not only in hit-and-miss methods to which those are subjected who are presumed to be "enjoying educational advantages," but also in many lapses in furnishing the said advantages to all young people in all sections of the country.

But does anyone suppose that the situation would be materially improved by assigning a larger share of the management of educational affairs to women? Will mere zealous good-will serve the purpose? They, too, would be far from one mind as to the function of the public schools. Not until the most competent men and women together address themselves to this fundamental social task can we hope for any real improvement over the prevailing chaos of systems, and even such a group of picked leaders will find themselves sorely handicapped; for there is reason to doubt whether genuine training for life can be made a feature of American society until a profound change takes place both in the *morale* and the ideals of the people.

### The Labor of Citizenship Can Know No Division

That miscellaneous pile of lumber—some worm-eaten and some newly hewn—known as the planks of national party platforms is now strewn in the presence of the people, the people who have had little enough to do with platform making. The fact that all these planks are now presented to the voters implies that the members of the electorate are expected to form some judgment regarding these propositions, and that the common welfare is somehow bound up with them. In all this array of platforms there is not one plank which does not concern the average woman equally with the average man; nor has the average man any means, not equally accessible to women, for understanding the merits or demerits of any plank. Reluctance to admit this is

not difficult to explain. The total change in the sociological status of woman during the past twenty-five years is so tremendous that it is small wonder that most people in middle life cannot adjust their thinking to it.

Women are now a part of human society; not indirectly, not potentially, not as represented by the men to whom they "belong" in some relation. They are of human society literally and directly, responsible for their choices, responsible for useful service as citizens, and it is on this ground chiefly that no distinction may be made between the electoral duties of men and of women. Even if it were possible to disentangle questions of social life, the management of which is authoritatively conducted through the ballot, it would not be desirable to do so—at least in a real government by the people. Men cannot at one and the same time lay claim to the title of good citizens and continue to disavow all interest in such matters as child welfare and public health and morals. Conversely, women to be worthy of citizenship must address themselves, even at the cost of much time and energy, to an understanding of the ways of business, the claims of labor, the nature of practical justice, and the essentials of international relations. The call to citizenship is not from groups of persons or from classes, in behalf of special needs; it arises in the entire complex body of social circumstances and admits of no half-hearted or half-minded response. Whether the response be made soberly or enthusiastically it needs to be made at once and by all the people.

**Ellen Hayes,**
*Member of the Faculty of Wellesley College.*

# Since English Women Had the Vote

## Professions are Opened to All Alike—The Divorce Law Is Reformed—The Age of Consent Is Raised—Wages Are Approaching Equality

SIX years ago, the year the great war started, a woman graduate of Oxford, who had taken honors in jurisprudence, applied for admission to the bar to practice law as a barrister and plead in the law courts in London and the provinces. The governors of the Inner Temple, in solemn conclave, discussed the practicability of admitting a Portia to their profession and dismissed the idea as impracticable.

This spring the governors of the Inner Temple again discussed the question and this time it was decided in favor of the women, with the result that not only can a woman practice at the bar in English courts of justice, but she may also be elected to be Lord Chief Justice or even to sit on the Woolsack in the House of Lords as Lord Chancellor.

The enfranchisement of women is directly responsible for this profession's throwing wide its doors to the impartial competition of both sexes.

In the old strenuous days of militant suffragism in England, gentlemen in the House of Commons would rise and dilate heatedly on how much Parliament had done for women, how much they still intended to do, and how much safer the cause of woman was left to their careful and discriminating wisdom than if trusted to the willful and scatterbrain methods of women themselves.

### If You Want a Thing Well Done

Let us see how far they were justified in their contention.

Since the granting of the vote to women, and even amid all the various and pressing "peace" measures, the Divorce Reform Bill has finally passed its third reading and now merely awaits the King's signature to become law. This bill, which among other necessary reforms acknowledges the justice of a single moral standard for men and women, has heretofore been introduced a dozen times in the House, read once, sometimes even twice, and then allowed politely to drop "owing to pressure of more urgent business."

One of the earliest reforms of particular interest to women, passed immediately after the cessation of hostilities, was the raising of the age of consent of young girls. Previously that age had been fixed by the gentlemen in Parliament, who so kindly looked after the welfare of women, at the scandalous age of fourteen. It has now been raised to sixteen and many members of the committee formed to revise the statute urged that it be made eighteen. Who can doubt but that this same question will be brought up again very shortly by the women who vote, and the age of consent fixed at twenty-one—the age when minority ceases.

Another sign of the times since the right to vote has been conceded to women, was the recent discussion in Parliament of equal wages for equal work. The weight of this discussion has been felt throughout the economic life of women in factory and workshop, in commercial life and the professions, as well as in the civil service in which direct connection it was raised. In the civil service itself a single standard did not succeed in passing, except in the case of a few heads of departments where a man or a woman might be employed, as it was contended that the present of a sum of money paid by the government as a dowry to their female employes counterbalanced the slight difference still existing or, in the case of unmarried women, upon their retirement with a pension. But the discussion did have the effect of more nearly approximating the salaries of the two sexes so that the difference between them is only about five per cent. In factories and workshops, the labor unions have insisted upon equal pay for equal work and this has been granted, but on the other hand, the labor unionists have made outcry against the admission of women to the skilled trades. This matter is still under discussion and I think there is little doubt but that women will win out in the skilled trades as they have done in the professions.

### Refusing to Take Less

In the commercial world and the professions, women have succeeded, through the high standard of their work and stubbornly refusing to accept less, in raising their wage standard to that of men. For some fifteen years there has existed a

union in London for women workers in offices, called the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries, and this union has most ably cooperated with and seconded the efforts of women to win their due in the clerical labor market. The union has constantly furnished statistical reports in all the various branches of women's work and has sent expert advisers to sit in committee with M. P.'s when subjects of interest and importance to women have been under discussion.

Other reforms that have quietly come into existence since the Act of Enfranchisement of Women include the regulation of working hours in factories and shops, better and more widespread attention in cases of maternity, a far reaching development in child welfare work both in schools and at home. These were all matters requiring urgent attention, but had been quietly shelved from session to session in favor of prevention of poaching acts and similar measures by the gentlemen guardians of the country's good. Don't misunderstand me, these gentlemen did not willfully intend to be neglectful of women's interest, but it is a psychological fact that they did not wake up to the importance of such measures until they felt the silent pressure of the women's vote. No general election, nor the voice of woman actually in parliament was necessary to bring about this awakening to the needs of women, it was merely the subconscious feeling that now women really mattered in the scheme of government.

What is going to be the future of woman, now that she is free to enter all branches of labor on equal terms with men? Well, to use an English colloquialism, it's up to the women themselves to decide. I was asked the other day why so few women fill positions of importance. My answer is that so few women are sufficiently educated to fill such positions. This is not altogether the fault of women, but in some measure it is. Generally speaking, girls who have been obliged to go out to work for the sake of maintenance have not been sufficiently educated for that purpose in the first place and the majority do not try to remedy that deficiency. The youth who is as a matter of course destined to take his place in a strenuous and competitive world and work his way up the ladder, starts with a specialized education, whether he be bricklayer, bank clerk, lawyer or engineer. His early schooling more or less prepares him for the place he is to fill in the community. Not so with girls. A girl is taught a little of this and a little of that, enough to enable her to talk intelligently and make her an agreeable companion, but not enough to enable her to tot up accurately a five-finger column of figures at one go. The more responsible the work the more need there is of a wider education and trained intelligence.

On the other hand, now that all the professions are open to women the attraction to the intellectual woman with the college and university training is greater and she will be more willing to enter a sphere that can offer her intellectual expansion and worthy recompense for the pains she has expended.

**Eve Cosson,**
*European Correspondent of the Chicago Tribune.*

# Cables of Congratulation

## From Ellen Key, Olive Schreiner and Ladv Astor Have Come Messages to the Woman's Party and the Women of America

IN these cablegrams from the leading women of other nations to Alice Paul, chairman of the National Woman's Party, and through her to the women of this country, there is evidence of the present unity of spirit and great hope of a coming solidarity among the women of the world. They were received with deep appreciation and gratitude.

The first message received was from Ellen Key. It rings with the constant challenge of this great feminist leader to all women to live proudly and to their full stature. Her message reads:

> "Sisters, use your enfranchisement in the noble spirit which made Susan Anthony great in the struggle."

From Olive Schreiner, first among women of the English speaking races, and author of "Woman and Labor," "The Story of an African Farm" and many other volumes, came this message:

> "Hearty congratulations, may all women unite to labour for peace and universal international brotherhood."

Lady Astor, the only woman to hold a seat in the Parliament of England, cabled as follows:

> "Women's quality of moral courage is essential in public life to help the growth of better social and international relations."

Lady Constance Lytton, one of the most ardent workers for suffrage in England, said:

> "Congratulate the American States on the overwhelming victory for women's enfranchisement. The world power women now hold will greatly strengthen them internationally.

The president of the French suffrage organization which is working so energetically for the enfranchisement of French women, Madame De Witt Schlumberger, cabled:

> "Enthusiastic congratulations from the French Union for Woman Suffrage to our American sisters upon their enfranchisement which is so well merited."

Countess Maria Loschi, of Rome, who visited America last summer and was deeply interested in the woman's movement here, cabled from Italy:

> "More than ever appears in the world the necessity of woman's work and influence to rescue human morals and humanity. American women have already good will, splendid preparation and great power. May their final enfranchisement be blessed. May all roads be open to this new wonderful army. Be united, dear friends, especially after this deserved victory, and accept greetings from an Italian woman who has known, loved and appreciated you."

# Reminiscences of a Pioneer

*By* OLYMPIA BROWN

WE have achieved a great victory, the most important one since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, that great instrument of which Gladstone said that it was the greatest document ever composed by man. It was composed by man and for man. It omitted woman altogether. Woman was not born then. After a hundred and thirty-seven years woman has been discovered. Slowly the work of emancipation has gone on. I recall the time, in 1861, when I circulated a petition throughout the city of Cleveland, Ohio. It only asked for property rights and the guardianship of children, but it was bitterly opposed and men sneeringly said: "You'll be wanting to vote next."

Six years after that came the great Kansas campaign! For the first time in the history of the world the question of woman's right to vote was submitted to a vote of the electors. At that time I went to Kansas, and on the first day of July, 1867, the first meeting of the campaign was held in Leavenworth. I traveled all over the state. I visited every city, village and settlement. There were very few railroads, only one or two stage routes, few livery stables, and almost no roads of any kind. We made our way across the trackless prairie. It was just after the civil war, the people were poor, and I came to them a missionary, empty-handed, dependent upon their good-nature for my conveyance from place to place. It is to their credit that I spoke two or three times every day in different places until the election in the autumn, and I never missed an appointment.

Toward the last of September came Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton, and later came George Francis Train, and altogether we did what could be done to win. But we met with bitter opposition from the very men who had voted in the Legislature for the submission of the amendment. One month before the election there was every indication that we should win. The interest was great, women rode fifteen miles on horseback to attend the meetings, everything promised success. But just then the Republicans saw that we were in earnest and they began a violent opposition by lectures, circulars, ridicule and falsehood, and every influence which they could command. Consequently, when the election day came we had only one-third of all the votes cast. This was our first defeat.

### After Two Defeats, Victory

Our second defeat came soon after. We had hoped that when the fourteenth amendment was drafted it would include women. But no, "the negro's hour" was too precious to those politicians to be wasted upon women. They promised that when the negro was enfranchised they would work for woman suffrage. However, it was quite generally supposed that voting was one of the "privileges and immunities" which the states were forbidden to "abridge." Many women beside Susan B. Anthony voted under the supposition that they were allowed to vote by the fourteenth amendment. But when the courts decided against us and Susan B. Anthony was fined, we knew that there was no hope in the amendments.

In 1869 a great victory startled the world and stirred the sleeping members of Congress, and they waked up and looked around. Wyoming with a constitution recognizing women asked for statehood! Heretofore the members of Congress had received our petitions, laughed at them, and put them away, but now they had the legislature of Wyoming to deal with and when they hesitated about receiving a state with a woman suffrage constitution word came to them from the Wyoming legislature: "We will stay out of the Union until the Day of Judgment, unless we come in with our women." It was our first great victory.

### Convention in Washington

The same year, Susan B. Anthony began a series of conventions in Washington, which she kept up for twenty years, always appealing at every session to Congress, asking for an amendment to the constitution enfranchising women. They were great conventions, great in the earnestness they manifested, great in the enthusiasm they created, great in the numbers attending, when we consider the ignorance of the people on the subject. Many came from curiosity, some came to ridicule, and many "came to scoff but remained to pray." But however they came, they heard the story of equal rights for all, and the Woman Suffrage platform became the school of patriotism for the whole world. Mrs. Stanton's wonderful eloquence, Miss Anthony's zeal, the wit of Ernestine L. Rose, the historical arguments of Matilda Joslyn Gage, and the legal lore of Belva Lockwood electrified the nation, stirred the people everywhere, and gave them a new idea of the meaning of liberty. These conventions laid the foundation for the great movement in favor of woman's emancipation.

In 1889 came the union of the National and American societies. Mrs. Stanton was getting old and slow and Miss Anthony was tired. The policy of the American association was to work for suffrage in the states, and so the national work for the amendment gave place, to a considerable extent, to local state work. School suffrage, bond suffrage, presidential suffrage, took the attention of the advocates of woman suffrage, and some states gained suffrage by a referendum. A few came in with suffrage in their constitutions.

Then ensued a period of indifference; people no longer came to meetings from curiosity; ridicule had lost its force; the stale old jokes no longer amused; no one came even to scoff. And yet women kept on courageously working in all possible ways, but apparently without success. Suffrage was defeated unaccountably. No state had adopted woman suffrage since 1894. Sometimes the legislatures refused to submit the question, or it was defeated in the referendum. Politicians had passed the word along, "No more suffrage states." The ten years preceding 1910 I have called the Great Desert of woman suffrage. Of course women were working everywhere; the annual conventions of the National-American Association were held, resolutions were passed, literature was circulated and petitions were signed, but apparently without result.

The Federal Suffrage Association kept up its hearings before congressional committees. It presented bills and had hearings in 1904, 1906 and some later, but nothing was done and the outlook seemed dark. Susan B. Anthony had died in 1906 and no one had taken her place.

Suddenly and unexpectedly, help came out of the great West. Washington voted for woman suffrage, carrying the measure by a two-to-one vote! That marked a great epoch in the history of woman suffrage. It was a light shining into the darkness. There was great rejoicing. The states gained new courage. State after state, stimulated by Washington's example, enfranchised its women.

### Back Again to Congress

Then came Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, in 1913. I remember the first letter they wrote me. They proposed to establish headquarters in Washington and to push the amendment enfranchising women in Congress until victory was won. I was delighted. It was the very thing I had proposed some years previously in the executive board of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association. My plan had been sneered at and denounced as impossible and I had gone home, crushed.

Miss Paul and Miss Burns worked faithfully and continuously and successfully. They organized the Woman's Party. They did such thorough work as had never been done before. They prepared a card index containing the names of all the members of Congress and giving the political affiliation, religious views, and the social position of every member. Having this, they had the members of Congress in their hands. Mrs. Catt and others of the National-American Association and the members of the Federal Association joined in appeals to Congress. Members of the Woman's Party worked unceasingly. They picketed, they lectured, they went to jail, they suffered, they sacrificed, and, and all working together we conquered, and today we rejoice in one of the greatest victories for humanity that has ever been achieved.

Judge Walter Clark of the North Carolina Supreme Court said in a letter to Miss Paul, dated March 5, 1920: "The political history of the world shows no political capacity equal to that shown by the women in finally getting suffrage passed through Congress, by tenacity of purpose and political skill in spite of bad faith of men who were pledged to vote for you. * * * The feat of getting twenty-six special sessions called up to date is one that no other power on the planet could have accomplished. It will remain a marvel in political history, that with the odds against you, you have won or will soon have won, your enfranchisement. You certaintly have earned it."

### And Now?

And now, at the close of this long struggle, and when the women of the whole United States are enfranchised, the question arises, "What will the women do with their vote?" The women of the nation, with ballots in their hands, must do something effective for their country. There still remain many things to be done for women. Justice in wages, in law, and in public opinion has not been attained; and yet, urgent as these subject are, it seems to me that we should first consider the great danger that threatens our country at the present time. That danger is militarism, the same which we fought against Germany to destroy. I could wish that the whole womanhood of America would join and with one voice denounce the whole military system, compulsory service, military training, and the expenditure of millions of the people's money for munitions of war. Surely the united voice of all the women would be heard. Militarism would be swept away and our country consecrated to "peace on earth, good-will to men." Such an accomplishment would be worthy of the great struggles and sacrifices that have been made to give women the ballot.

# Susan B. Anthony--Militant Revolutionist

*By* Adelaide Johnson

**Adelaide Johnson, for many years a close friend of Miss Anthony, is now in Italy completing in marble, three portrait busts of Miss Anthony, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, which are to be presented to the national Capitol by the Woman's Party, as a lasting memorial to these first leaders in the woman's revolution.**

THE Woman's Revolution initiated by Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton and guided by Susan B. Anthony was not as all former revlutions, that of a group within a nation rebelling against tyranny, or even the revolt of one nation against the aggression of another, but a revolution involving half of humanity against the most subtle and deeply entrenched tyranny within creation—the tyranny of sex.

The Woman's Revolution involved the tearing of the bonds of the heart. The uprooting of the entanglements of the mind and the piereing of all past darkness with a new light. Indeed, it was to be the demonstration by collective humanity of the divine law epitomized in "he who would save his life must first lose it."

Our warfare, with no support of precedent or background of history, with its martyrs, its saints and great leaders through seventy years, and more, through three generations into the fourth, could have been waged and its army sustained only by the leadership of those with perfect vision and an immeasurable faith.

Could such a revolution even be thought without militancy? No.

Did not Miss Anthony call her paper by the militant title "The Revolution?" and accept as her own motto "resistance to tyranny is obedience to God?"

The very titles given to our invincible leader by her contemporaries indicate within her the two extremes that meet in master souls.

A poem to "Our Maiden Mars" was written to her on her fiftieth birthday by John Hooker and read at its celebration by Isabella Beecher Hooker. "The Napoleon of our struggle" she was called by the great Channing.

In her other aspect Miss Anthony was called "The Sir Galahad in Search of the Holy Grail" and by the eminent divine, Dr. H. W. Thomas, designated as "Saint of Liberty" "so much like Christ."

Another said, "There never was a nobler, more unselfish soldier of the Human race."

Margaret Bottome, founder of "The Kings Daughters," after saying, "I have a confession to make" and then telling to a vast audience how she had all her life accepted all the prejudices and contumely uttered against Miss Anthony as the basis of her thought of her, said: "When I came into her presence yesterday I felt as I believe the disciples felt in the presence of Jesus Christ and I would like to make the confession before all who have ever heard my name."

In addition to all written records these two aspects of this incomparable character were inscribed upon the hearts of the thousands of thousands of lives touched by her in her fifty years of public career.

### Quaker Militancy

In militancy Miss Anthony's acts were not supremely dramatic, but considering the time and condition were more aggressive and as militant as anything that has since been done.

This is true, from the time when she stood a lone tall figure amid sneers and hisses in that teachers' convention in the early fifties, waiting for the men to discuss and decide in their excitement whether she might ask a question, and then passed out while women drew their skirts aside lest they might touch her, to that time of splendid courage when her majestic figure moved down the aisle at the Fourth of July celebration of the Centennial's Exposition, scattering to an amazed audience "The Woman's Declaration of Independence" which the chairman had refused to allow her to read.

One wonders how any suffragist dared to decry militancy when the supreme leader of the woman movement of the world created the masterpiece of militancy at her trial in 1872 for casting a ballot—when the press said, "Whatever may be said of Susan B. Anthony, she has kept the country agitated upon the Woman's Rights question as few others, male or female, could have done."

The National Woman's Party with its leader, also of Quaker ancestry, has borne full testimony to being the natural inheritor of this authority, bearing forward her spirit and her will both in concentrating upon the Federal Amendment and in the methods of procedure.

Miss Anthony would have rejoiced in the firm stand for woman's enfranchisement at the time of the great world war, when, while war was waged for the very ideals for which women were asking, women for this asking were thrown into prison at the very seat of government.

She took the same position at the time of our Civil War—justice and womankind first. Unhappily for her country she was left to stand absolutely alone at that time and forced to witness the black slave man, with every other type and shade of man, exalted above her and elevated to citizenship to rule over her, by the "chivalrous" men of this nation.

### Mrs. Stanton's Tribute

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, her great co-worker and friend of fifty years, who yielded to the emotional urgence of the war, was great enough in the after calm to say: "I was convinced at the time mine was the true policy. I am now equally convinced that it was a blunder, and ever since I have taken my beloved Susan's judgment against the world."

Miss Anthony as no other would have appreciated "keeping the watch-fires burning," and the burning of "worthless words" about justice to women, uttered while the country was enfranchising foreign men, even "enemy aliens," while denying the consent of the governed to native-born women and daily taxing them for billions without representation.

Miss Anthony's last public words on the last occasion she ever spoke were of contempt for worthless words and a rebuke to their utterer, the President of the United States.

It was at Washington upon the occasion of the celebration of her eighty-sixth birthday, February 15, 1906, less than four weeks before she departed this life. There after addresses, letters and telegrams from over the country "finally as a climax came the much-desired letter from the President," Theodore Roosevelt, this yearned-for word for her "cause"—the cause of justice for women, for which she yearned as a mother's heart yearns for the birth of her own child.

Instead of that word, this fearless soldier of fifty years' service to the cause had to hear an inane congratulation upon her birthday, with good wishes, etc.

With the shadow of the coming event of her transition then over her, as Mrs. Harper, her biographer, records, "Miss Anthony could endure it no longer. Rising and coming to the front of the stage, while the listeners sat breathless, she exclaimed with her old-time vigor:

"'When will the men do something beside extend congratulations? I would rather have President Roosevelt say one word to Congress in favor of amending the Constitution to give women the suffrage than to praise me endlessly.' In this rebuke to the utterer of worthless words one feels the final heave of her departing soul."

### Emancipation of Women

No word of Susan B. Anthony can be complete without a culmination in the two initiators and chief apostles of the new time, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

When the fact comes to be fully realized that the whole of what is known as the "Woman Movement," which has spread to every country and expanded to every field of endeavor and which, though bloodless, is the greatest of revolutions, was initiated and pioneered by these three as a unique unit, the tremendous significance of their historical importance may be grasped.

They became the embodiment of an idea—

Lucretia Mott, representing the spiritual;

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, representing the intellectual;

Susan B. Anthony, representing the great generating vitality, while each partook of the qualities of each.

## TENNESSEE THE 36TH

(*Continued from page 202*)

Gordon Battelle and Mrs. James Rector, members of the Advisory Council; Miss Pollitzer, legislative secretary, or Mrs. Baker, political chairman, was in daily communication with Senator Harding or Mr. Harry Daugherty, his pre-convention campaign manager.

Within a few days after the Woman's Party delegation to Senator Harding, Mr. Daugherty telegraphed three Republican leaders in Tennessee asking them to call a caucus to consider the possibility of securing a solid Republican vote.

Senator Harding shortly afterwards appointed a local representative to work for ratification. Chairman Hays, after consulting with Senator Harding, later asked Mrs. Upton, Republican vice-chairman to go to Nashville in interest of the amendment.

Through these sources Senator Harding kept closely informed of the trend of events in Tennessee. The state Republican leaders gladly backed up every move of the national leaders and there was no strong local opposition to overcome.

As a result, all but one of the Republican members in the Senate voted for the amendment, while in the House a majority of the delegates supported ratification.

Governor Cox, on his part, first announced his determination to assist in the Tennessee campaign in his statement to the deputation of the Woman's Party which met him on July 16. He then said:

> "I give to you without any reservations the assurance that my time, my strength and my influence will be dedicated to your cause as our combined counsels might suggest, with a view to procuring a favorable result in Tennessee."

On July 20, he was instrumental in securing the following resolution from the Democratic National Committee which met him in Columbus:

> "As the legislature of Tennessee will be the first to convene since the adoption of the Democratic National Platform, we, the members of the Democratic National Committee, recently elected at the San Francisco Convention, feel justified in calling attention to the suffrage plank in the national party platform and the Tennessee state platform —both urging prompt ratification of the federal suffrage amendment and we urge the Democratic members of the Tennessee legislature to vote favorably on ratification thereby cooperating with us in securing the enfranchisement of women to the end that they may participate in the next national election."

On July 23, Governor Cox met the Woman's Party Ratification Committee, which had been appointed at his suggestion, of which the members were Miss Sue White, Tennessee chairman; Mrs. James Rector, of Columbus, member of the Advisory Council, and Miss Anita Pollitzer, legislative secretary, and went over in detail the Tennessee suffrage situation. He stated at this conference that he had already sent representatives to Tennessee to work for the amendment and expected an immediate report from them.

*Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch.*

**He took a chance—**

On July 31, George White, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, telegraphed to the Tennessee legislature:

> "It would be pleasing to Governor Cox and Democrats throughout the nation if on August 7, when we begin the drive in the coming campaign that will break the Republican lines in the November elections, we had assurances from a majority of the Tennessee legislature of their intention in the forthcoming special session to make Tennessee the thirty-sixth state to ratify the suffrage amendment, thus insuring the enfranchisement of the women of America."

On August 4, Mrs. Baker wired to Miss Paul:

> "Governor Cox said if we wished him to, he would himself go to Tennessee, but asked this be kept *strictly confidential* until his decision was made. Said he had three men in state, had received no report from them as yet, would receive one this morning, give it to me also; that he would send a man down next week, whom he and I are to talk to on Sunday. Took the Democratic poll. There is no question of his real eagerness to have women voting."

On August 6, Mrs. Baker again wired Miss Paul:

> "At Cox conference this morning he dispatched strong letter to Congressman Garrett, also reported his representative said much work was still needed in state."

On August 7, Governor Cox said in his speech of acceptance:

> "It requires but one more state to ratify the national amendment and thus bring a long-delayed justice. I have the same earnest hope as our plat-

form expresses, that some one of the remaining states will promptly take favorable action."

On August 10, a message received from Mrs. Baker to Miss Paul said:

"Cox says if Governor Roberts of Tennessee does not telephone him today he will call Roberts on the telephone. Cox appears worried. He says he will give me definite report on Tennessee in Columbus tomorrow night."

On August 11, Governor Cox wired Miss Charl Williams, Tennessee vice-chairman of the National Democratic Committee, as follows:

"I sincerely hope the Tennessee legislature may ratify the suffrage amendment at once. It is not only a matter of justice and right, but I believe one of utmost benefit to Democratic party, because the great issue from which the campaign will be decided will find its response to the Democratic appeal in the hearts of American women."

On August 12, Mrs. Baker wired Miss Paul:

"Governor Cox states that Governor Roberts has just telephoned him that ratification is now certain, the vote will probably come Friday. Governor Roberts reports that there is a great change in conditions surrounding ratification since yesterday. Cox says he has talked daily with Roberts and will continue to talk daily with him. Cox says he will watch the situation and will go to Tennessee if needed, but he is convinced it is not now necessary."

From the beginning of the Tennessee campaign Governor Cox communicated constantly by telephone with the Democratic leaders in Tennessee, urgently advocating ratification.

In the end, by his persistent efforts, we was able in the face of the most bitter opposition and at the risk of alienating powerful influences in his party to secure favorable action in this southern Democratic legislature.

The fact that ratification was achieved by a single Democratic vote won on an appeal for support of the Party Platform, is convincing proof of the necessity and the effect of this constant work with and through the national political forces.

## Gov. Holcomb Resorts to Irony

ON THE 9th of August, Chairman Hays, of the Republican party, again approached the Governor of Connecticut appealing for a special ratification session of the legislature. On the 14th of August Governor Holcomb replied refusing a special session.

In taking definite issue with Governor Holcomb, who contends that no national emergency exists, Chairman Hays wrote:

"I do not agree that so great an issue should be settled only after a fresh legislative election.

"Wisely or unwisely, the question whether ratification of a proposed amendment should be submitted to the state legislature or to popular conventions composed of delegates elected upon that issue, has been by the Constitution of the United States vested in Congress and not in the states.

"I urge ratification, first, in the hope of thereby clearing the political atmosphere; second, in the belief that the suppression of effective opinion works harm to the whole body politic, and, finally, in the conviction that we owe immediate action as a measure of simple justice to American women. Relieve the American woman from the necessity of claiming her constitutional right and her sister from the fancied necessity of opposing the claim and you will liberate a body of public opinion on the campaign and its issues which will in itself be one of our greatest national assets."

In his letter Mr. Hays declared further that the cause of Governor Holcomb and the Republican party were one, and said that "individually and collectively the effort of Republicans has been to secure the ratification of the suffrage amendment." For himself he added: "Personally, let me say that I am sympathetic with it."

Governor Holcomb's answer follows:

"Your letter of the 9th instant, mailed the 10th, reached me on the 11th instant. Two days after I had read it in substance in the Hartford *Times*, the leading Democratic newspaper of Connecticut, and after it had appeared in the New York papers. I assume this prior publicity seemed desirable.

"I received your letter of October 31, 1919, relating to a special session, and answered it on November 4, stating that there would be no special session to act upon the woman suffrage question. I presume you overlooked or had forgotten my reply to your former letter.

"I have given at least four hearings upon applications to call a special session and have stated my reasons for refusing. It is unnecessary to re-

You say 'a special legislative session is a small price to pay for clearing the political atmosphere.' The financial cost is unimportant, but violating the provisions of our constitution which I have sworn to support is too great a price to pay. I shall not call a special session. With personal regards, I am, sincerely yours,

MARCUS H. HOLCOMB.

The chief executive of Vermont, Governor Clement, remains equally obdurate in the fact of a steady successio nof appeals for a special session from his party and from the women of his state.

## Are Enabling Acts Necessary?

THE delay in the ratification of the suffrage amendment has seriously endangered women's power to vote in many states at the coming election. The date for registration in several states is already passed so that a special registration day becomes necessary. In addition to this, in some states machinery and funds must be provided by legislative action to take care of the increased electorate.

In Georgia, where the regular registration day was May 6th, every effort was made to secure an enabling act at the July session of the legislature. This effort failed. The Attorney General has, however, ruled that though the women will be debarred from the state elec-

tions in September, special arrangements will be made for their registration in October for the national elections.

In the full and presidential suffrage states no legislation is necessary. Virginia, New Hampshire, Minnesota, Massachusetts and Mississippi have already passed enabling acts.

The attorney generals of Maryland, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio and West Virginia have rendered opinions that no special legislation is necessary to permit women to vote under the Federal amendment. The Governor of Missouri has stated that he will call a special session of the legislature after the thirty-sixth state has ratified, if legislation is found to be necessary. There is still some question as to the necessity for legislation in Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina and Vermont.

The Woman's Party is following this matter up at once with the state officials.

No state legislation, according to the announcement of the Attorney General of the United States, is necessary to make the amendment operative, since the suffrage amendment is identical except as to subject matter with the fifteenth amendment and that amendment has been ruled to be self-executory and to render inoperative contrary provisions of state constitutions or statutes.

## Legal Attacks on Ratification

THE Susan B. Anthony amendment, now ratified by the thirty-sixth state, is still open to attack in the courts. It is reassuring, however, to recall that the two cases so far brought against it and tried, have resulted in victories for the suffrage measure.

The injunction proceedings brought in the District of Columbia Supreme Court July 6 by Charles S. Fairchild, president of the American Constitutional League, to prevent Secretary of State Colby from issuing the ratification proclamation and to prevent Attorney General Palmer from enforcing the proclamation, are not yet finally disposed of, since appeal has been taken to the Circuit Court of Appeals. Justice Bailey, in denying the injunction on July 13, although indicating that the plaintiffs were not sufficiently concerned to have standing in court, decided the case upon its merits. He said: "Courts will not go behind the actions of legislatures in ratifying. Under the decision of the Supreme Court in the prohibition case, legislatures derive their power to ratify from the Federal Constitution, and courts will not examine into their action and uphold state laws that restrict the power derived from the Constitution."

The appealed case cannot be heard until the higher court meets in October. The case will then apply only to the enforcement of the provisions of the amendment by the Attorney General.

It is possible, however, that the claims made in the injunction suit against the legality of ratification in Missouri, Tennessee, New Hampshire, Arkansas and West Virginia may be used as the basis for further suits. The grounds for the application of the injunction in so far as these states were concerned was that the legislatures of Missouri and Tennessee had not the power to ratify; that the manner of ratification by the states of New Hampshire and Arkansas was improper, in that ratification was by separate resolutions in the two houses of the legislature; and that West Virginia's ratification was invalid because of the violation of its Senate rules.

Although the court decided the case without the presentation of any argument by the defendant's counsel, the latter, Solicitor General William L. Frierson and United States District Attorney James B. Archer, were ready to present the arguments that the plaintiff had no standing in court because he had no peculiar interest in the amendment, that the bill did not set forth any condition demanding equitable relief, and that the plaintiff had shown no emergency calling for injunctive relief.

The other attack endangering ratification of the amendment in time for the coming elections, by making possible ratification by referendum instead of legislative action, was finally disposed of by the decision of the Supreme Court in the Ohio referendum case. It furnished an unassailable opinion for defense in case of future possible attacks and made it unnecessary for suffragists to campaign for a favorable vote in the referendum elections in Ohio and Oklahoma, where petitions had been circulated.

## The Effect of Ratification on Coming Elections

ON one point suffragists and anti-suffragists, Republicans and Democrats, men and women, are agreed—no one can prophesy what effect the enfranchisement of women will have on the results of the coming elections.

The fact that thousands of women have already joined the Republican party and other thousands the Democratic party, still leaves a possible balance of power in the hands of the thousands as yet unaccounted for.

The traditionally Democratic states of the solid South will certainly not go Republican because women have the vote, nor will some of the staunchly Republican states be swung into the Democratic column.

In the states recognized as doubtful, women already—previous to the ratification of the amendment—held the presidential franchise in twenty-two. In eleven of these, however, they have received this limited suffrage since the last presidential election and in six of the states within the last year. But even granted that there has been time to "line up" and estimate the woman vote in all these twenty-two states, there still remain nine doubtful states in which women receive the right to vote only from the national amendment—Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, West Virginia and Ohio.

The twenty-two doubtful states in which women had previously held the presidential suffrage are Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, Montana, Nevada, Illinois, Nebraska, Rhode Island, New York, Michigan, Indiana, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Wisconsin and Kentucky.

# A Glimpse of Susan B. Anthony

ONE of the few women who saw the beginning of Susan B. Anthony's work and who have lived to see its fulfillment is Mrs. Helen Ekin Starrett, author and educator, now living in Oregon.

One of the anecdotes Mrs. Starrett tells of Miss Anthony shows her not as a great leader but as the hard working, pathetically isolated woman that she also was.

Mrs. Starrett's reminiscences are of the period when Miss Anthony, with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, was campaigning for suffrage in Kansas in 1881.

"All were prepared beforehand," Mrs. Starrett writes of Mrs. Anthony's coming to Kansas, "to do Mrs. Stanton homage for her talents and fame, but many persons who had formed their ideas of Miss Anthony from the unfriendly remarks of the opposition papers in other states had conceived a prejudice against her. Perhaps I cannot better illustrate how she everywhere overcame and dispelled this prejudice than by relating my own experience.

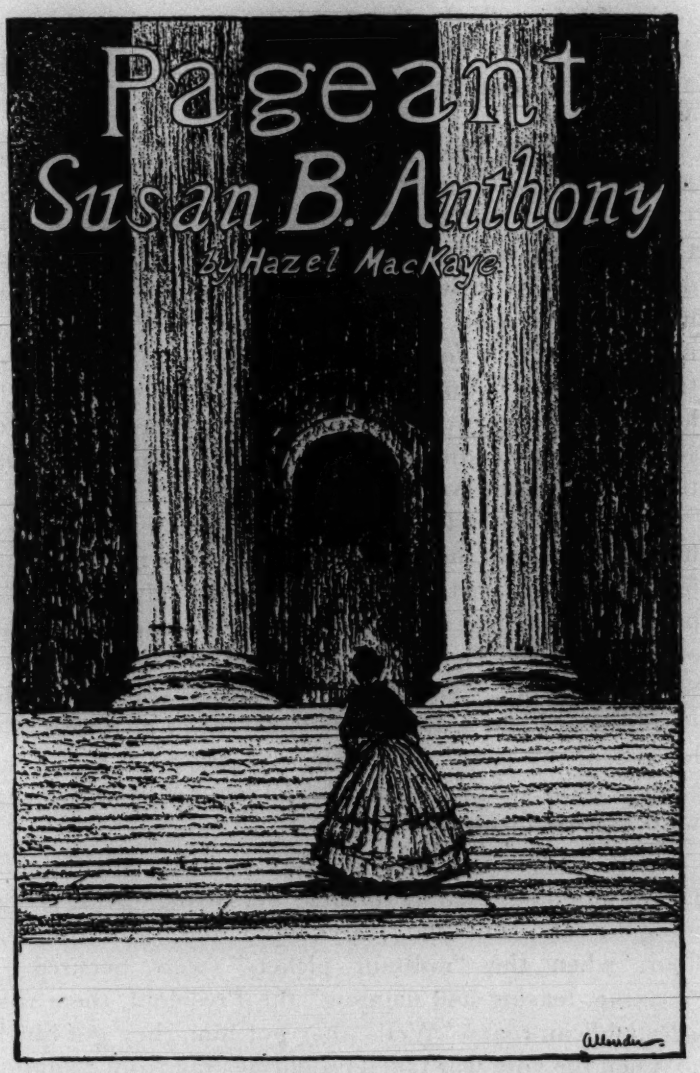
"A convention was called at Lawrence, and the friends of woman suffrage were called upon to entertain the strangers who might come from abroad. Ex-Governor Robinson, who from the first had given his influence to the movement, was now giving his whole time to the canvass. He called upon me to know if I would entertain Mrs. Stanton. In those days houses were small, help was scarce and inefficient, and in our family were two babies and an invalid sister. But the pleasure and honor of entertaining Mrs. Stanton were too great to allow these circumstances to prevent. We prepared our own room for the guest chamber and had all things in readiness when I received a note from Ex-Governor Robinson stating that Mrs. Stanton had found relatives in town with whom she would stop, but that Miss Anthony would come instead. I hastily put on my bonnet and shawl, saying, 'I don't want Miss Anthony and I won't have her, and I'm going to tell Governor Robinson so.'

"At the gate I met a dignified, Quaker lady with a small satchel and a black and white shawl on her arm. Offering me her hand she said, 'I am Miss Anthony, and I have been sent to you for entertainment during the convention.' I have often wondered if Miss Anthony noticed my confusion, and the apologies I stammered out about no help, sickness in the family, no spare room and how I was just on my way to tell Governor Robinson that I could not entertain anyone. Half disarmed by her genial manner and frank, kindly face, I led the way into the house and said I would have her stay to tea and then we would see what further arrangements could be made.

"While I was looking after tea Miss Anthony won the hearts of the babies; and seeing the door of my sister's sick room open, she went in and in a short time had so won the heart and soothed instead of exciting the nervous sufferer, entertaining her with accounts of the outside world from which she had been so long shut off, that by the time tea was over I was ready to do anything if Miss Anthony would only stay with us. And stay she did for six weeks, and we parted from her as from a beloved and helpful friend. I found afterwards that in the same way she disarmed prejudice and made the most ardent friends wherever she became personally known."

In speaking of the earnestness with which Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton carried on the Kansas campaign, Mrs. Starrett says:

"At all places where they spoke they had crowded houses, and everywhere made the warmest friends by their truly admirable qualities. The amount of work performed by these two ladies was immense. Mrs. Stanton, escorted by ex-Governor Robinson, spoke in nearly every county of the state. Miss Anthony remained at Lawrence working indefatigably in planning and advertising meetings, distributing tracts, sending posters to different places, and attending to all the minutiæ and drudgery of an extensive campaign. Often have I regarded with admiration the self-sacrificing




*Drawn by Nina E. Allender, for the* SUFFRAGIST, *November, 1915.*

**Susan B. Anthony Approaches Congress on behalf of the enfranchisement of women**

spirit with which she arranged matters for others, did the hard and disagreeable work, and then saw others carry off the honor and glory, without once seeming to think of her services or the recognition due them.

"I remember one evening of the convention which was typical. The hall was crowded with an eager and expectant audience come to hear Mrs. Stanton. I looked for Miss Anthony; there she was moving about in the back of the hall, unrecognized, unnoticed, looking after the seats, the lights, the ushers, the doorkeepers, and nothing would induce her—since the program did not require it—to take a place upon the platform."

## VOTES FOR WOMEN

(*Continued from page* 198)

District jail hunger striking as the final protest against the denial of rights of political offenders and against unjust imprisonment. The Administration abandoned its policy of meeting the agitation by suppression and adopted the policy of ending the agitation by removing its cause. Following the release of all prisoners from jail, a date was immediately set for a vote on suffrage in the House of Representatives, the President sent for a committee from the House to whom he expressed his desire that the amendment should pass, and the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment was sent victoriously through the House of Representatives January 10, 1918, exactly forty years after its first introduction, and one year after the first pickets appeared at the White House.

The night before the scheduled vote in the House, Representative Cantrill of Kentucky, with twelve other Democrats, visited Mr. Wilson at the White House. Mr. Cantrill afterward announced the change in the President's suffrage attitude in this statement: "The committee found," said Mr. Cantrill, "that the President had not felt at liberty to volunteer his advice to members of Congress on this important matter, but when we sought his advice he very frankly and earnestly advised us to vote for the amendment as an act of right and justice to the women of the country and the world."

The vote in the House offered an opportunity to determine which was true, the President's claim that he could but follow his party, or the suffragists' claim that the party would follow him. For hours, while debate raged on the floor and Democrats protested to hearers in such words as these: "God knows I want to stand with the President. I am a Democrat and I want to follow the leaders of my party, and I am a pretty good lightning-change artist myself. But God knows I cannot keep up with this performance!"

Party leaders and party whips raced through the corridors mopping their perplexed, perspiring faces, struggling to carry out that Presidential hint, and from the floor, when the "militant pickets" were accused of "coaxing, teasing and nagging" the President, there rose a Republican roar—"Well—they got him, they got him!"

When the vote was taken prophecies ran from 2 against to 20 for. While suffragists who had sat in the galleries from early morning, held their breath to hear the outcome, a nerve-straining recapitulation of the close roll call was demanded. The knowledge that Speaker Clark stood ready to give his vote if it were needed alone sustained the suffragists—at last the second roll was ended—suffrage had passed the House.

After this half-victory for suffrage, sponsored by Mr. Wilson, suffragists turned to the President to support suffrage in the Senate. But six months of laborious lobbying and organizing in the states, during which period nine of the eleven needed votes in the Senate were won, revealed the fact that the Administration would not put forth the effort necessary for the winning of the two votes still lacking, without further pressure. This situation was proved by the Democratic fillibuster in June, 1918, against the consideration of suffrage in the Senate.

The National Woman's Party again determined to hold the unsatisfactory record of the President in winning support in the Senate up to the inspection of the country.

At Lafayette monument, in Washington, opposite the Executive Mansion, American women, following the famous words of Pershing in France, announced in a great outdoor mass meeting, "Lafayette, we too, are here—at home, still fighting for the democracy the President has denied us, though he has sent out men crusading abroad for it." Arrests and imprisonment followed, and the charge for which the women were arrested was "standing on a monument." Profiting by their earlier experience the Administration officials surrendered this time after only a few arrests and imprisonments and hunger strikes. Again all prisoners were released without explanation and an effort was made to end the protest of the women by giving them a permit to hold meetings of protest and by the President's reiterating his devotion to the principles of suffrage.

The President stated on September 16, to a delegation of Southern and Western women at the White House that he was "doing everything in his power to aid the passage of the federal suffrage amendment." On the same day, Mr. Overman, the Democratic chairman of the Senate Rules Committee, had confessed to the Woman's Party that their measure would not be on the Senate calendar during the session, and the chairman of the Senate suffrage committee had told them that he would not even call a meeting of his committee to consider it.

The meaningless words of the President, shown by the statements of the party leaders in Congress, to be only words unaccompanied by action, were burned in Lafayette Square, within an hour after they were uttered. Applauding crowds threw bills and money for the suffrage agitation on the plinth of the monument on which the women were standing.

The next day the chairman of the suffrage committee announced on the floor of the Senate that the suffrage measure would be brought up in the Senate on September 28. The chairman of the Rules Committee said he had been mistaken as to the program of the Senate. Democratic leaders in the Senate began to work vigorously for success and the President went to the Senate and declared suffrage a war measure which must be passed, but he had waited too long.

Federal suffrage failed in the Senate by two votes that day in spite of the President's eleventh-hour help, though it was immediately restored to the Senate calendar. The resolution was the first of the President's so-called war measures to be repudiated by his own Party.

Women were determined to keep their liberating measure in the foreground, in spite of the fact that the President now went to Europe on behalf of world democracy. Watch-fires of freedom were therefore lighted in

front of the empty White House on the day of his landing in Europe.

The President's speeches on human liberty before foreign monarchs and foreign armies and foreign crowds, were burned by suffragists in those watch-fires, as a symbol of the indignation of women at the thwarting of democracy at home. The suffragists realized that by exerting sufficient pressure, the President could still win the missing votes. The situation was critical because if the suffrage measure was delayed until the Sixty-sixth Congress convened in May, 1919, the majority of state legislatures would have adjourned and would have to be called into special session to ratify the measure, if women were to vote in 1920.

The watch-fires were kept burning and this time the women were arrested for "lighting bonfires after sundown." The humorous fact that the suffrage demonstrations were held in the daytime amused everyone but the weary police court officials, who in the District are Administration appointees.

The President cabled to be kept in constant touch with the suffrage situation and administration officials redoubled their efforts.

Finally—but not until a new Congress had been elected—a message came from Paris that a Democratic Senator then in France had announced his support of the amendment.

Two Republican Senators within a few days declared their intention to vote "aye" on the measure.

On May 21, 1919, the House repassed the amendment by a large majority. The Senate acted favorably a fortnight later, passing the measure on June 4, with two votes to spare.

Thus within a little more than six years after the formation of the Woman's Party the first half of the fight for the federal amendment—a struggle which it was declared on all sides in 1913 would not be ended for fifty years—was ended, and the Susan B. Anthony amendment submitted to the states.

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## HOW THE 36 WERE WON

(*Continued from page 205*)

### West Virginia

The battle was brought back to the east by the convening of the special session in West Virginia on March 10. Here the element of suspense became so great and the dramatic situation so intense that the attention of the country was held as it had not been by any other chapter of the ratification campaign.

Added to suspense there was the element of surprise, for the West Virginia legislators had been carefully polled not only by the Woman's Party but by political leaders during the summer and had shown a large majority supporting the amendment. Here, too, it was a question of the opposition's having seen the handwriting on the wall and being roused to desperate effort.

As members of the legislature gathered in Charleston, one after another was discovered to be wavering. The National Headquarters of the Woman's Party laid the situation at once before the political leaders in Washington and prevailed upon the Republican Senatorial Committee again to send out as their representative Mr. Frank Barrow. After great political pressure had been brought to bear, new polls showed 40 votes for ratification in the lower house and 41 against, with six men, known as "the silent six," refusing to commit themselves one way or the other.

In the Senate, the forces stood tied 14 to 14. The Senate voted first and the result was a tie.

The House vote came next, and victory where it was least expected. Every one of the silent six gave his vote for ratification.

The tie in the Senate called forth vigorous activity from party leaders. The Democrats, seeing their opportunity to win the day for ratification, sent appeal after appeal to the Democratic members of the state Senate. Cabinet officials and President Wilson himself joined in these requests, but not a man moved.

There was left only one chance, to hold the Senate in session until Senator Bloch, who was spending the winter in California, could return and vote. His trip across the country broke all records in speed, but it required five days, and for those five days the 28 Senators "marked time" in Charleston.

At the last minute the anti-suffragists showed their desperation by trying to re-seat a Senator who had moved out of the state and resigned from the legislature. This attack foiled, the vote was again taken and West Virginia ratified.

### Washington

Washington was the last suffrage state to act on the amendment. Governor Hart through many months of siege had reiterated that nothing could induce him to call a special session. The obstacle was his fear, since he could not limit the session, that other legislation to which he objected would be passed. Finally, facing the responsibility for the defeat of the amendment, he was forced to accede to the steady demands from the leaders of his state and of his party and summon the legislature on March 22. Ratification was immediate and unanimous.

The winning of the thirty-sixth state by a campaign emphasizing the responsibility of the presidential nominees, who as leaders of their parties were responsible for the fulfillment of the suffrage plank in the party platforms, is recounted in a preceding article.

The ratification campaign has done more than complete the enfranchisement of women. It has continued their political education, so well grounded during the campaign for the passage of the amendment in Congress.

The difficulties and delays of the suffrage struggle have not been without their benefit to women. It is possible that more than one politician will live to wish that by his support he had shortened the seventy-year campaign and given women less complete training in the ways of himself and his kind.

# Beware!

## No More Homes, No More Lullabies, The World Will now Turn Turtle—So the Prophets Prophesied—But They Also Said the Pickets Had Put Back Suffrage Fifty Years

ACCORDING to the law women are enfranchised; according to the prophets the world's best days are over. Read and beware!

"There will be no more domestic tranquility in this Nation. No more "Home, Sweet Home"; no more lullabies to the baby. Suffrage will destroy the best thing in our lives and leave in our hearts an aching void that the world can never fill.—**Representative Heflin of Alabama, 1918.**

"Women won't have time to nurse their babies. Suffrage will bring feminism, and feminism socialism and lawlessness."—**Mrs. A. J. George, 1913.**

"Our hearts warm with pity toward those unfortunate creatures (suffragists). We fancy we can see them deserted of men and bereft of their rich enjoyments which belong to women, languishing their unhappy lives away in a mournful singleness."—**New York Tribune, 1866.**

"The conferring of the franchise on women will tend to disrupt the family, which is the unit of society, and when you disrupt the family, you destroy the home, which in America is the foundation stone of the Republic."—**Representative Clark of Florida, 1915.**

"Just as sure as you live, when we all get on one side of the ship, we are going to turn turtle, and it will be the ruination of our Government."—**Mrs. Edwin Ford.**

The General Assembly of Massachusetts in 1837 would never have ratified the Susan B. Anthony amendment. In a letter to the churches under its care is this warning:

"When woman assumes the place and tone of man as a public reformer our care and protection of her seem unnecessary. Her character will become unnatural. By the intimate acquaintance and promiscuous conversation of females with regard to things which ought not to be mentioned, the way will be opened for degeneracy and ruin."

### Exeunt Mothers!

"It will desolate our homes and firesides. It will unsex our mothers, wives and sisters, who are today influencing by their gentle caress the action of their husbands toward the good and pure. It will turn our blessed country's domestic peace into ward assembly rooms."—**Senator Vest of Missouri, 1887.**

"Wives will form political alliances antagonistic to their husbands. The result will be discord and divorce."—**Senator Brown of Georgia, 1887.**

Yet in some of the prophecies the National Woman's Party can not but take a whimsical pride. It was said on numerous occasions that the picketing had "set back" the suffrage cause for a various number of years, ranging from five to five hundred.

"The opinion seems to be almost universal in New York that the White House pickets have blocked equal suffrage in the state for from five to ten years."—**Washington Post, Sept. 14, 1917.**

"The bolder and more audacous spirits might have more influence upon the electorate than the conservative women voter would have.—**Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, President of the Association Opposed to Women Suffrage, 1917.**

And in some of the prophecies there is hope for everyone.

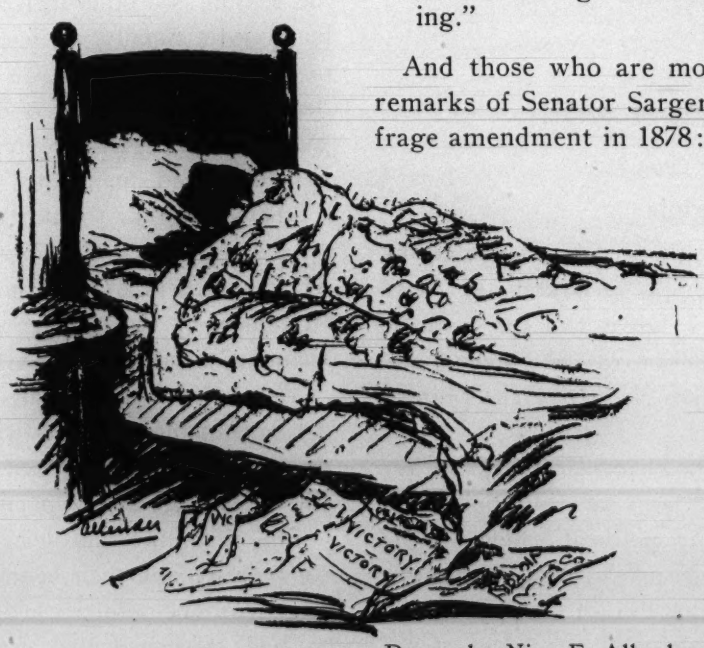
### Hope Ahead

Those who are most pessimistic can accept the word of Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi, who declares:

"The practical results of the adoption or defeat of the suffrage amendment will amount to nothing."

And those who are most optimistic may believe the remarks of Senator Sargent when he introduced the suffrage amendment in 1878:

"I believe that by the bringing of the intelligence, the virtue, the good intentions possessed by the women of America to the ballot-box, we may have better politics, better administration and government, less grog shops, less hells of inquity, and that an improvement in every direction can be wrought out by the reënforcement of good morals and good intelligence."




Drawn by Nina E. Allender

**Any good Suffragist the morning after.**

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# History of the Amendment

## In Congress

*Drafted*
By Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

*First Introduced*
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

*Reported from Committee*

*In the Senate*

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
1919, Unanimously favorably.

*In the House*

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
1918, Favorable majority.
1919, Favorable majority.

*Voted Upon*

*In the Senate*

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

October 1, 1918, yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the two-thirds vote.

February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by 1 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

June 4, 1919, yeas 56, nays 25, passing by 2 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

*In the House*

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by 1 vote over necessary two-thirds majority.

May 21, 1919. Yeas 304, nays 89, passing by 42 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

## Ratification to Date

*States Which Have Ratified the Amendment*

(Those starred ratified at Special Sessions).

| | | Gov. | Legis. | | VOTE Senate | VOTE House |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Wisconsin | R | R | June 10, 1919 | 23–1 | 54–2 |
| 2 | *Michigan | R | R | June 10, 1919 | Unan. | Unan. |
| 3 | *Kansas | R | R | June 16, 1919 | Unan. | Unan. |
| 4 | *Ohio | D | R | June 16, 1919 | 27–3 | 73–6 |
| 5 | *New York | D | R | June 16, 1919 | Unan. | Unan. |
| 6 | Illinois | R | R | June 17, 1919 | Unan. | 134–4 |
| 7 | Pennsylvania | R | R | June 24, 1919 | 31–6 | 153–44 |
| 8 | Massachusetts | R | R | June 25, 1919 | 34–5 | 185–47 |
| 9 | *Texas | D | D | June 29, 1919 | 12-2 | 96–20 |
| 10 | *Iowa | R | R | July 2, 1919 | Unan. | 96–5 |
| 11 | *Missouri | D | Div.'d. | July 3, 1919 | 28–3 | 125–4 |
| 12 | *Arkansas | D | D | July 20, 1919 | 20–2 | 76–17 |
| 13 | *Montana | D | R | July 30, 1919 | 38–1 | Unan. |
| 14 | *Nebraska | R | R | Aug. 2, 1919 | Unan. | Unan. |
| 15 | *Minnesota | R | R | Sept. 8, 1919 | 60–5 | 120–6 |
| 16 | *New Hampshire | R | R | Sept. 10, 1919 | 14–10 | 212–143 |
| 17 | *Utah | D | D | Sept. 30, 1919 | Unan. | Unan. |
| 18 | *California | R | R | Nov. 1, 1919 | Unan. | 73–2 |
| 19 | *Maine | R | R | Nov. 5, 1919 | 24–5 | 72–68 |
| 20 | *North Dakota | R | R | Dec. 1, 1919 | 40–4 | 102–6 |
| 21 | *South Dakota | R | R | Dec. 4, 1919 | Unan. | Unan. |
| 22 | *Colorado | R | R | Dec. 12, 1919 | Unan. | Unan. |
| 23 | Rhode Island | R | R | Jan. 6, 1920 | No Roll Call. | |
| 24 | Kentucky | R | Div'd. | Jan. 6, 1920 | 30–8 | 72–25 |
| 25 | *Oregon | R | R | Jan. 12, 1920 | Unan. | Unan. |
| 26 | *Indiana | R | R | Jan. 16, 1920 | 43–3 | Unan. |
| 27 | *Wyoming | R | R | Jan. 27, 1920 | Unan. | Unan. |
| 28 | *Nevada | D | Div'd. | Feb. 7, 1920 | Unan. | 25–1 |
| 29 | New Jersey | D | R | Feb. 10, 1920 | 18–2 | 34–24 |
| 30 | *Idaho | R | R | Feb. 11, 1920 | 29–6 | Unan. |
| 31 | *Arizona | R | D | Feb. 12, 1920 | Unan. | Unan. |
| 32 | *New Mexico | R | R | Feb. 19, 1920 | 17–5 | 36–10 |
| 33 | *Oklahoma | D | D | Feb. 27, 1920 | 25–14 | 85–12 |
| 34 | *West Virginia | D | R | Mar. 10, 1920 | 15–14 | 47–40 |
| 35 | *Washington | R | R | Mar. 22, 1920 | Unan. | Unan. |
| 36 | *Tennessee | D | D | Aug. 18, 1920 | 25–4 | 50–46 |

*States Which Have Defeated the Amendment*

| | | Gov. | Legis. | | VOTE Senate | VOTE House |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Alabama | D | D | Sept. 2 | 18–13 | No vote |
| 2 | Georgia | D | D | July 24 | 39–8 | 118–20 |
| 3 | Mississippi | D | D | Jan. 21 | 23–22(For) | 96–23 |
| 4 | South Carolina | D | D | Jan. 24 | No vote | 93–21 |
| 5 | Virginia | D | D | Feb. 12 | 24–10 | 62–22 |
| 6 | Maryland | D | D | Feb. 17 | 18–9 | 64–36 |
| 7 | Delaware | R | R | June 3 | 11–6(For) | 24–10 |
| 8 | Louisiana | D | D | June 15 | 23–19 | 67–44 |
| 9 | North Carolina | D | D | Aug. 19 | 25–23 | 71–43 |

*States Which Have Not Acted*

| | | Gov. | Legis. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Connecticut | R | R | No regular session this year. |
| 2 | Vermont | R | R | No regular session this year. |
| 3 | Florida | D | D | No regular session this year |

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